

















# STUDIES IN SKANDA PURĀṆA

## Part II

( EDUCATION, ECONOMIC LIFE, RELIGION & PHILOSOPHY )



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## INTRODUCTION

ॐ

नमोऽकिञ्चनवित्ताय निवृत्तगुणवृत्तये ।

आत्मारामाय शान्ताय कैवल्यपतये नमः ॥

The second volume of the Studies in the Skanda Purāṇa has now come out by the blessings of Hari Kṛṣṇa, who is the only wealth-true wealth-of those who have no sense of possession. He had sustained me in the moments of crisis and calamities. Hence I bow low to you, Kṛṣṇa, again and again, with a desire to dedicate this life to the cause of learning. Storm and cloudy weather, life of stress and strain, has given strength to me.

This volume deals with Education (chapter I), Economic Life (chapter II), Religion (chapter III) and Philosophy (chapter IV). The first volume ended with the chapter on Society and the present volume takes up the thread left over there.

Society influences education and so does education mould the pattern of society. The educational system of ancient India was based on the ideal life of teachers devoted to service to society. We have still the same forests—tapovanās; but there are no āśramas, and no true teachers devoted to Truth. They are money-mongers.

The life of Yājñavalkya upholds the love for truth (p 12; Sk., VI. 278. 22-94) which led him to break his ties with his teacher, Śākalya. He was also an ideal teacher. Skanda Purāṇa throws valuable light on the growth of education, learning and literature (chap.I). It upholds the glory of Vedas, and Śāstras. Scholars, like Samudragupta and Mihira-bhoja etc. had championed the Vedapatha and Śāstrodaya marked by the re-editions of the Purāṇas.

Chapter II deals with the economic life and institutions. Vārtā—agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade—was very much developed making country rich and prosperous. Arthaśāstra was an exalted branch of learning which led to the great production of wealth. Classification of wealth into three categories has escaped the attention of modern scholars. It throws valuable light on the various occupations.



**Karmabhūmi Bhārata**—Bharatam sarvabijam (Sk., V. 1. 11. 14)—with its rivers, mountains, forests and seas was styled Vasundharā. Commercial enterprise of merchants plying their ships to Dvīpantara enriched the country. Guilds played a very significant role in socio-economic life of the country. Skanda makes very important contribution to the corporate life of society. References to 18 Prakṛtis, or śreṇīs and Naigams etc. are very important. Kusīda (money-lending) was also an important occupation.

Chapter III deals with the religious life with special reference to the growth of Paurāṇic and Tāntric religion. In addition to the Vedic religion, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Śakta-dharma, Sun-worship as well as worship of Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya were very popular. There are also references to minor faiths and cults like tree-worship. Buddhism and Jainism were censured. The age of the Skanda Purāṇa is also represented by such exalted personalities of Matsyendranātha, Śaṅkara, and Rāmaṇuja. Dehatyāga was also prevalent. Many religious rites like japa, tapa, dāna and saṁnyāsa (asceticism) etc. were also popular.

Chapter IV deals with philosophy with special attention to Vedānta and the Philosophy of Premananda.

Life and Philosophy of Kṛṣṇa-Vasudeva teaches us all to dedicate our lives to Puruṣottama-Yoga (Gītā, ch. XV). Puruṣottama-cult will be discussed in our work on the **Puruṣottama-Kṣetra** (Sk. II. ii)—Glories of Orissa.

Dr. K. K. Thaplyal refers to “a sealing from Paūnar (District Wardha) containing the legend **nama Puruṣottama**..... in circa second century A. D. characters.” Dr. Thaplyal observes that “Puruṣottama is a name of Viṣṇu.....” (St. Anc. Ind. Seals, pp. 166-167). Similarly we have ‘**namaḥ Puruṣottamāya**’ at the top of the Malhar Plates of Ādityarāja (Journal of Epi. Society of India, Vol. IV, 1977, pp. 30 ff). Dr. Ajaya Mitra Shastri discussing these epigraphs has not cared to look into the glory of the Puruṣottam-Cult which was prevalent in Vidarbha. Puruṣottama is the Lord Jagannātha of Puri (Puruṣottama Puri).

There are many problems, still awaiting the attention of the scholars e.g. regional cults and cultures represented by the different



sections of the Skanda Purāṇa. Dr. R. N. Mehta (Professor and Head of the Deptt. of A. I. H. & Arch, University of Baroda) has been studying the archaeology of Mahīśagara-saṅgama (Kumārīkā Kh.) & Nāgara Khaṇḍa etc. Similar studies can be conducted at the Universities of Kerala, Tirupati, Utkala, Ujjayinī (Vikrama) and Kāśī etc. It requires the patience of our young men who may be engaged to carry on their researches in their respective areas.

I, as an old man, but with the mind of an *antevāsi*, have to take up its third Volume dealing with the tīrthas. The study of the tīrthas is an arduous task. But it is very important. Sacred spots and the list of shrines like that of Puruṣottama, Deo-Barṇārka sun-temple or the Śiva-temple of Harṣanātha etc. throw very valuable light on the art-treasures of the past which played their unique role in the development of Āryan culture and thought.

My life, since the book was given to the Press, was full of stress and strain. But the Mother kept her child moving. It is Her Śakti which gives strength to me :

नमो देवि महाविद्ये नमामि चरणौ तव ।

सदा ज्ञानप्रकाशं मे देहि सर्वार्थदे शिवे ॥

I offer my salutations to all.

अजमजरमनन्तं ज्ञानरूपं महान्तं

शिवममलमनादि भूतदेहादिहीनं

सकलकरणहीनं सर्वभूतस्थितं तं

हरिममलमायं सर्वगं वन्द एकम् ॥

SAGAR

Dated : 26th. October  
1978

A. B. L. Awasthi

Tagore Professor  
UNIVERSITY OF SAGAR



समर्पणम्

**RESPECTFULLY**

To

Professor T. S. Murti, An enlightened Physicist

The Vice-Chancellor, University of Sagar

A Conscientious Teacher

&

An Eminent Professor

with

The Heart, full of love,

&

Liking for Stars

त्वया दत्तं पदं प्राप्य,

सन्ध्यायां नमामि ते ।





“The Skanda Purāṇa is comprised of 7 Books containing 81 thousand verses and it is surprising to see how he has coped with the stupendous task of extracting cultural material from a detailed study of this great Purāṇa. The text is a mine of information relating to Indian religion and culture in all their aspects and the mass of evidence produced by a critical study of the text is highly revealing. The thesis is evident proof of the prolonged preparation and scholarly judgement of its kind.”

Dr. V. S. Agrawala



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योगस्थः कुरु कर्माणि संग त्यक्त्वा धनं जय ।

सिद्धयसिद्धयोः समो भूत्वा समत्वं योगमुच्यते ॥



## ABBREVIATIONS

AG.	Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India.
ASH	Ancient History of Saurashtra (K. Vriji).
A. I.	Alberuni's India.
A. I.	Ancient India (R. C. Majumdar).
A. I. Ed.	Ancient Indian Education (R. K. Mookerji)
A. I. E. T.	Aspects of Ancient Indian Economic Thought.
A. I. H. C.	Aspects of Indian History & Culture.
A. I. K.	Age of Imperial Kanauj.
A. I. U.	Age of Imperial Unity.
Ak. Ch. G.	Chalukyas of Gujarat, A. K. Majumdar.
Bd. or B. M. D	Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa.
B. K. M.	Bṛhat Kathā Mañjarī.
B. M. V.	Basak (R. G.), Mahāvastu (Calcutta).
B. R. N.	Bṛhad Nāradya Purāṇa.
Br. V. or Br. V.	Brahma Vaivartta Purāṇa.
B. S.	Bṛhaspati Sūtra (Arthaśāstra of Bṛhaspati)
B. S.	Bṛhat Saṁhitā.
C. A. I.	Coins of Ancient India (Smith)
C. A. I. (Cl. A. I.)	Classical Accounts of Ancient India
C.C.A.I.	Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum (Allan).
C. C. G. D.	Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty in the British Museum (Allan).
Cf.	Confer.
C. H. I.	Cambridge History of India (I)
	Comprehensive History of India (II)
C. I. I.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.



## ABBREVIATIONS

Cl. A.	Classical Age (Bharatiya Vidyabhavan)
C. W. R. G. B.	Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.
D. Bh. (Devī Bh.)	Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa.
D. H. I.	Development of Hindu Iconography
D. P. I.	Dikshitar, Purāṇa Index (3 volumes)
E. A. I.	Education in Ancient India.
E. C. D.	Early Chauhan Dynasty.
E. H. I.	Elements of Hindu Culture
E. H. A. I.	Economic History of Ancient India.
E. H. I.	Elements of Hindu Iconography
E. H. I.	Early History of India (Smith)
E. L. A. I.	Economic Life in Ancient India (Buch).
E. L. N. I.	Economic Life of Northern India (Gopal).
E. R. K.	Early Rulers of Khajuraho.
G. A. M. I.	Geography of Ancient and Medieval India.
Gl. G.	Glory That Was Gurjaradeśa (Munshi)
Gv.	Gauḍavaḥo.
H. A. I. A.	Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad.
H. B. A.	History of Brahmanical Asceticism.
Hc.	Harṣacarita.
H. F. I. C	History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.
H. I.	History of India-Elliot & Dowson.
H. I. I. A.	History of Indian and Indonesian Art.
H. I. P.	History of Indian Philosophy-5 vols. (Dasgupta)
H. M. H. I.	History of Medieval Hindu India (Vaidya)
H. L. I.	Historical and Literary Inscriptions.
H. N. E. I.	History of North Eastern India (Basak)
H. O.	History of Orissa.
H. S. I.	History of South India (K. A. N. Sastri).
Ibid.	Ibidum.
I. E. G.	Indian Epigraphic Glossary.
I. G. I.	Imperial Gazeteers of India.



## ABBREVIATIONS

[iii]

I. K. P.	India as Known to Patañjali.
Ind. Lit.	Indian Literature (Winternitz)
Ins.	Inscription.
I. W.	India and the World.
J. Hv.	Jain Harivaṃśa
J. Mv.	Jones, Mahāvastu.
J. U.P. H. S.	Journal of the U. P. Historical Society.
J. Epi. S. I.	Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India
K.	Kāṇḍa.
K. A.	Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra.
K. M.	Kāvya Mīmāṃsā (Baroda Edn.)
Kss.	Kathāsaritasāgara.
M. A. I.	Mcindie-Ancient India (Ptolemy).
Mbh.	Mahābhārata.
Mk.	Mṛcchakaṭika.
M. R.	Mudrārākṣasa.
M.S.E.D. (MWSED)	Monier Williams, Sanskrit English Dictionary.
M. V. C.	Mahāvīra Carita.
N. H. C.	Nationalism in Hindu Culture.
N. K.	Newal Kishore (Press Lucknow)
	Edition of the Skanda Purāṇa.
P.	Parva (& Purāṇa).
PBC.	Prabodha Candrodāya.
P. I.	Purāṇa Index.
P.K.B.	Paṇini Kālīna Bhārata.
Ph. L.	Philosophy of Love.
P. P. I.	Prehistoric and Protohistoric India.
P. R. H. R. C.	Purāṇic Records On Hindu Rites and Customs.
Proc. Beng. A. S.	Proceedings of Bengal Asiatic Society.
P. T. R.	Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion.
R.	Rāmāyaṇa.
Rv.	R̥gveda.



## ABBREVIATIONS

S. B.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
S. B. E.	Sacred Books of the East.
S. B. B. J.	Sanskrit Bauddha Sāhitya Men Bhāratīya Jivana.
S.E.D.	Sanskrit English Dictionary (Apte).
S. C. T.	Sakti Cult and Tārā.
S. C. N. I.	Society and Culture of Northern India
S. E.	Struggle For Empire
Sk.	Skanda Purāṇa
S. MV.	Senart, Mahāvastu.
St. Ind. Ant.	Studies in Indian Antiquities.
St. Sk.	Studies in Skanda Purāṇa.
St. Up.	Studies in Upapurāṇas.
S. V.	Śrī Venkateshwār (Press Edition)
U.	Uttarārdha.
U. R. C.	Uttara Rama Carita
V. A.	Vedic Age.
V. D. (V. Dh.)	Viṣṇu Dharmottaram.
V. P. (wilson)	Viṣṇu Purāṇa (English translation)
V. P. S.	Vāmana Purāṇa-A Study.
Watters	Watters On Yuan Chwang.
Yv.	Yājñavalkya (Smṛti)
Yv.	Yogavasiṣṭha.



## CHAPTER I

## EDUCATION

Indian culture has always laid great stress on the acquisition of knowledge.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, education was compulsory for the three upper varṇas (dvijas). The Skanda Purāṇa also throws interesting light on the various aspects of ancient Indian education.

## (I) SOCIETY &amp; EDUCATION

Society influences education and so also does education mould the pattern of culture and society. It was for this reason that education was inseparably associated with ancient Indian social organisation.

Brāhmaṇas representing the **mukham** of Puruṣa accepted willingly the leadership (mukhatā) of intellectual culture. Teaching was their sacred duty. Living a life of simplicity in the huts (**uṭajas**) or (**parṇa-śālās**) of forests, far from madding crowd they had dedicated their lives at the altar of Sarasvatī teaching those who had aptitude for studies like their own sons. **Guṇas** (sattva, rajas and tamas) as well as actions or **karmas** based on these guṇas definitely determined the nature of society. Brāhmaṇas imbued with the spirit of **sattva** inspired students to lead the **sāttvic** life—the life of simplicity based on the sublimity of thought. Kings, rulers or Kṣatriyas gave protection and patronage to **gurukulas** and **Āśramas** which they often visited without making a show of power and prestige.<sup>2</sup> Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas looked after the financial aspect of educational system.

## (II) VIDYĀRAMBHA

Learning in ancient India had been highly praised<sup>3</sup> and pursued as a part of religion. "It was sought as the means of salvation

---

1. Cf. Garuḍa P., I.109.47-49.

2. Cf. Raghuvamśa I.37

3. Garuḍa P., I. 115. 80-82



or self-realisation, as the means to the highest end of life, viz., Mukti or emancipation".<sup>1</sup> As such it began with a ritual.

**Upanayana** marked the beginning of the Vedic studies by a child, who resided in the house of his teacher. While studying the Vedas he had to perform regularly the religious rites like *Saṁdhyā* etc.<sup>2</sup> Education was thus based on the prescribed mode (vidhi)<sup>3</sup> of life and a code of conduct (śaucācāra).<sup>4</sup>

Among the religious vows and other duties the muttering of the *Gāyatrī* (*Sāvitrī*) had special significance. It not only made a student fearless, but it also inspired his intellectual development based on the proper application of intellect (*dhī*) which was stimulated (cf *dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt*) to apply itself to higher pursuits of life. The student or teacher who realised the true nature of the world as well as that of mortal body worked more zealously for the development of spiritual culture than for that of body. Body, naturally nursed and nourished in the *āśramas* became strong and sturdy.

### (III) UPANAYANA —An Educational Ritual

**Mauñji-bandhanam**<sup>5</sup>—*Sāvitrī*<sup>6</sup> or Upanayana is one of the most important sacraments which marks the beginning of education.<sup>7</sup> With it began a new life--- life of restraint, reformation and refinement. Hence aptly it is called rebirth of a boy (or girl) who is initiated to virtue and piety in his conduct. "It was thus essentially an educational ritual and bore resemblance to the formality of the admission procedure in modern schools and colleges."<sup>8</sup> It is true, as Dr. Altekar holds, that "The ritual was originally performed when a student commenced his Vedic education under the supervision of a teacher with whom he usually lived."<sup>9</sup> After initiating the student, teacher began his lessons on the

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1. A. I. Ed., p. XXI

2. Viṣṇu P., III. 9. 1-3.

3. Viṣṇu P., III. 10-12

4. Ibid., III. 9. 2(i)

5. Sk., IV. 1. 40. 31(i); V. iii. 20. 54(i)

6. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 7(i)

7. Altekar, E. A. I., pp. 269-283

8. Ibid., p. 275.

9. Ibid., p. 269



Vedas along with his instructions relating to the purificatory rites,<sup>1</sup> which comprised the purification of body and mind, viz. *ācamanaṁ* (*mukha-prakṣāṇaṁ*) washing of mouth, sacred bath and the regulation of the vital air (*prāṇān āyamyā yatnataḥ*)<sup>2</sup> after which he had to perform the sacred rites viz. worship of the Sun, prayers, both in the morning and evening, oblation to Agni (*agni-kāryaṁ*) and salutations to the *Brāhmaṇas*. Reverential salutation of a teacher or of the elders is held conducive to longevity of life, fame, strength and intellect.<sup>3</sup> With such disciplined body and mind students were devoted to the service of their teachers, who too taught them thinking it to be their sacred duty and not for the sake of money<sup>4</sup> or other material gains. Thus after the performance of the ceremony of *Upanayana*, a student acquired the knowledge relating to all the branches of learning serving his teachers with discipline and devotion.<sup>5</sup>

#### (IV) IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION

Thus this religious and spiritual basis of education exhibits the importance of social structure where an important limb of social organisation was responsible for educating the children with blood and sweat. The *Skanda Purāṇa* contains many stories and statements which uphold the importance of education in the acquisition of which no pains were spared. *Skanda* asserts that an illiterate person is foolish,<sup>6</sup> and the persons devoid of learning are *śūdras*.<sup>7</sup> We come across such persons, who wanted to commit suicide due to their failure in the pursuit of knowledge because of their short memory. In one instance, the goddess of learning herself appeared to grant boon to a such person, so that he could acquire knowledge.<sup>8</sup> *Pāṇini* himself attained proficiency in grammar by performing penances on the *Goparvata*.<sup>9</sup> It upholds the traditional legend which tells us that the

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1. *Sk.* IV i. 36. 9

2. *Ibid.*, IV. i. 36. 10

3. *Ibid.*, IV. i. 36. 13.

4. *Ibid.*, IV. i. 36.14-15(i)

5. *Ibid.*, III. iii. 11. 7

6. *Ibid.*, V. iii 182. 37.

7. *Ibid.*, VII. i. 207.29

8. *Ibid.*, VII. iii. 21.2-8.

9. *Ibid.*, I. iiiu. 2. 68.



great grammarian was also a dullard in the beginning.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Skanda observes, that Agniśarmā (Vālmīki), son of a Brāhmaṇa, did not study, though he was pressed hard by his parents.<sup>2</sup> In the city of Mithilā there was a very learned Brāhmaṇa, whose son did not study. Hence the former induced the latter to study by offering him sweets, at the same time, threatening him with punishments, if the boy did not study.<sup>3</sup> The boy, himself, realised that the education was the highest goal of human life (paṭhanam nām yat puṁsām paramārtham hi tat smṛtam).<sup>4</sup> Vidyā really has been held to be a branch of knowledge which helps us in knowing the Lord of the Universe (yayā vetti jagannātham sā vidyā parikīrtitā).<sup>5</sup> Education has been held in high esteem in the religious as well as in the secular life of the country and it is evidenced by the exaltation of the goddess of learning, an object of worship.<sup>6</sup>

The importance of education is further exhibited by the existence of the persons proficient in the science of education, (vidyā-siddhānta-vedin)<sup>7</sup> or śikṣāpaṇḍitāḥ.<sup>8</sup> It shows that there was a fair quantity of literacy in the age of the Skanda Purāṇa and education received its due honour and attention.

### (V) FUNDAMENTALS OF EDUCATION

Aim of the education has been to develop human personality by the cultivation of merits and acquisition of knowledge. Hence by the attainment of merits (guṇas) and vidyā in the house of a teacher, a student became accomplished.<sup>9</sup> For Brāhmaṇas, Śruti is the only means of realising the spiritual bliss.<sup>10</sup> A Brāhmaṇa attains the same

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1. Sk., VII. iii. 21. 8-9.
  2. Ibid., V. i. 24. 3-4.
  3. Ibid., I. ii. 5. 57-58.
  4. Ibid., I. ii. 5. 60.
  5. Ibid., II. ii. 10. 96.
  6. Ibid., II. iv. 1. 9.
  7. Ibid., V. iii. 68. 5.
  8. Ibid., II. ii. 17.69.
  9. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 80.
  10. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 41.



merit by studying the Vedas which can be achieved by the gift of earth full of gold.<sup>1</sup> He should always practise the Vedas and this is his greatest penance.<sup>2</sup> One, who wants to study anything other than the Vedas, commits foolery.<sup>3</sup> Vidya purifies the self. Buddhi is purified by knowledge<sup>4</sup> and knowledge brings deliverance (Mokṣa).<sup>5</sup> From the above observations, we get the fundamentals of education in Ancient India and these are firstly, the education had a religious and spiritual foundation; secondly, Śruti i. e. Vedic studies formed the main curriculum of education and lastly Brāhmaṇas, whose sacred duty it was to study regularly the Vedas, were mainly associated with the educational system of the country.

Thus, though we see that education had a religious and spiritual foundation, yet the secular education was not neglected. The different subjects dealing with the material and worldly life were studied and taught in the different centres of learning.

#### (VI) EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Studying has been enjoined upon the three varṇas i. e. dvijas<sup>6</sup> as a duty. Even Śūdras aspired for learning, though Brāhmaṇas were the main-stay of Vidya-Vijñāna.<sup>7</sup> There was also no dearth of teachers as every Brāhmaṇa had to follow the sacred duty of teaching and thus every home of a Brāhmaṇa was a school. Ascetics were also engaged in the task of teaching in their hermitages.

#### (VII) CENTRES OF EDUCATION

Gurukula,<sup>8</sup> the house of a teacher,<sup>9</sup> and āśramas resounding with the muttering of the Vedas<sup>10</sup> were the celebrated centres of learn-

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1. Sk., IV. i. 36. 50.
  2. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 51.
  3. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 52.
  4. Ibid., IV. ii. 95. 72.
  5. Ibid., V. iii. 183. 17.
  6. Ibid., V. iii. 182. 18.
  7. Ibid., V. iii. 209. 7.
  8. Ibid., III. i. 16. 17.
  9. Ibid., III. i. 16. 18.
  10. Ibid., V. iii. 38. 13.



ing. Temples like the one at Camatkārapura<sup>1</sup> (Ānandapura, in the modern Ahmedabad District) were popular centres of education. Āśramas in Ānarta<sup>2</sup> and Kurukṣetra<sup>3</sup> were famous centres of education. Likhita, the famous sage, was also engaged in teaching in his āśrama on the bank of the Sarasvatī.<sup>4</sup> Mahārṣi Gautama, the husband of Ahilyā, was teaching hundreds of students at his home.<sup>5</sup> Kāśī is mentioned as the abode of learning (vidyā sadanam).<sup>6</sup> People have been going for the acquisition of knowledge<sup>7</sup> to Kāśī.<sup>8</sup> Ujjayinī was also a celebrated centre of learning, where Rāma-Kṛṣṇa went to study from Sāndipani.<sup>9</sup> Universities of Nālandā, Vikramaśilā and Valabhī in North and Kāncī in South were well-known centres of learning.

### (VIII) TEACHERS

The teacher was held in the highest esteem because his life was dedicated to service and sacrifice. Vidyādāna was believed to be most meritorious. Students seeking knowledge were to be taught (deyam vidyārthinām vidyā).<sup>10</sup> This sacred mission urged teachers to serve the community which, too, in its turn, paid great respects to them for their missionary spirit. Brāhmaṇas were respected for being engaged in the study and teaching of the Vedas.<sup>11</sup> Brāhmaṇas were the privileged preceptors, instructors and teachers.<sup>12</sup> They were devoted to higher pursuits of knowledge, based on simplicity of life and sublimity of thought.

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1. Sk., VI. 29. 136-176, etc.

2. Ibid., VI. 1. 5-6.

3. Ibid., VI. 4. 4-17.

4. Ibid., VI. 11. 24-26.

5. Ibid., VII. iii. 2.2.

6. Ibid., IV. ii. 97. 121.

7. Ibid., IV. i. 38. 107.

8. Ibid., IV. ii. 96. 123.

9. Ibid., V. i. 27. 7.

10. Ibid., II. v. 15. 17.

11. Ibid., VII. i. 106. 16.

12. Ibid., VI. 219. 21.



Teaching was one of their six prescribed duties<sup>1</sup> i. e. svadharma.<sup>2</sup> Their conduct Brāhmaṇacāra<sup>3</sup> was an ideal of decency.<sup>4</sup>

**Upādhi**— Skanda refers to different upādhis like ācārya, upādhyāyā, and guru. One who taught Veda along with Kalpa and their inner meaning was known as ācārya<sup>5</sup>, one who taught only a part (or a limb) of the Veda for the sake of his living was called an Upādhyāyā;<sup>6</sup> and one who performed the saṃskāras like Niṣeka etc. according to the prescribed rules and procured food for the student was known as guru.<sup>7</sup> He was also known as adhyāpaka.<sup>8</sup>

**Qualities of Teachers**— Standard of education depends upon the qualities and conduct of teachers. Skanda mentions the following qualities of head and heart, which were expected in an ideal teacher. He should be calm and cool, devoid of indiscipline, friendly, virtuous, devoted to equality, devoid of partiality, theist i.e. believing in the sanctity of God and Veda,<sup>9</sup> as well as well-contented, benefactor of all, free from desire, kind-hearted, accomplished and well-versed in all the branches of learning,<sup>10</sup> and able to remove all the doubts of his students.<sup>11</sup> He should be gifted with the equality of conduct as well as thought (sama-cetaḥ)<sup>12</sup> active, always mindful of the time, and he should be a Brāhmaṇa devoted to the good of all.<sup>13</sup> A teacher, himself disciplined, was also instructor of those who were disciplined.<sup>14</sup> Only one, who satisfied his pupils by his teaching was a true teacher.<sup>15</sup>

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1. Sk., IV. i. 10. 61; VII. i. 22. 69.

2. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 15.

3. Ibid., IV. i. 13. 54; cf. Manu, II. 20.

4. Sk., IV. i. 35. 188-190

5. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 53.

6. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 54.

7. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 55.

8. Ibid., V. iii. 228. 14.

9. Ibid., II. V. 16. 25.

10. Ibid., II. V. 16. 26.

11. Ibid., II. V. 16. 27.

12. Ibid., II. V. 16. 24.

13. Ibid., II. V. 16. 27.

14. Ibid., I. i. 18. 104.

15. Ibid., I. iii. 4. 7.



Teaching and study through money was censured.<sup>1</sup> Guru, an abode of virtues (*guruḥ sarvaguṇālayaḥ*)<sup>2</sup> like Gautama, was highly respected by his students. Uttāṅka's devotion to his teacher named Gautama was an exalted ideal of guru-bhakti to all the inmates of the gurukula.<sup>3</sup> Gautama was highly pleased by the conduct, purity and service of Uttāṅka. The former did not accept any dakṣiṇā from the latter, as he was fully satisfied with his pupil.<sup>4</sup> The story of Uttāṅka is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata with some changes.<sup>5</sup> Gautama's answer to Uttāṅka explicitly exhibits the reproachful spirit towards money as compared to service.<sup>6</sup>

Such teachers like Gautama did not accept money :—

na grāhyaṁ ca mayā putra, saṁtuṣṭaḥ sevayāsmyaḥam,  
necchāmi dhanam tvattaḥ, sukhaṁ gaccha grhaṁ prati.<sup>7</sup>

Then Uttāṅka went to his preceptor's wife and insisted that she should accept something for his satisfaction. Thereupon she asked Uttāṅka to bring the ear-rings of Madayantī, the wife of Saudāsa.<sup>8</sup> Uttāṅka fulfilled this desire of the preceptor's wife.<sup>9</sup>

**Teachers & Society**— Society made a valuable contribution to the

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1. Sk., I. ii. 41. 53. (ii).
  2. Ibid., VII. iii. 2. 49.(i).
  3. Mbh. Aśvamedhika P., LVI. 2-3.
  4. Ibid., LVI. 21.
  5. Mahābhārata refers to marriage of Gautama's daughter with Uttāṅka (Aśvamedhika P., LVI. 24). It is not mentioned in the Skanda P. (VII. iii. Ch. 2.) which has summarised the whole epic story mentioned in three Chapters (LVI-LVIII) of Aśvamedhika Parva comprising 124 verses. Skanda describes it in only 54 verses of VII. iii. 2. The story of Uttāṅka's gurubhakti is also mentioned in the Ādi Parva (III. 85-188) where Uttāṅka incites Janamajaya to avenge the death of his father at the hands of Takṣaka.
  6. Sk., VII. iii. 2. 11-13.
  7. Ibid., VII. iii. 2. 15.
  8. Ibid., VII. iii. 2. 16-18.
  9. Ibid., VII. iii. 2. 19-54.



development of education by providing alms<sup>1</sup> to the student for the maintenance of teachers and taught. Skanda refers to such five fathers viz., father, spiritual preceptor, teacher, supporter (giver of food) and saviour.<sup>2</sup> These are the five functionaries of educational system, representing the teachers, society and government.

The students<sup>3</sup> respected their teachers. Brahmachārī is described as one of the six Dharma-bhikṣukas,<sup>4</sup> who are to be honoured with gifts by the house-holders.<sup>5</sup> Student is stated to be a supporter of his teacher,<sup>6</sup> always engaged in doing good to him by thought, speech and action.<sup>7</sup> He is required to follow bhaikṣya-caryā taking alms from the house of pious Brāhmaṇas,<sup>8</sup> or Dvijas<sup>9</sup> i.e. Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas.

### (IX) STATE & EDUCATION

Kings and queens were themselves learned in the different branches of education and they patronised education. Learned Brāhmaṇas were honoured by the rulers. They were exempted from the royal taxes and kings were called upon to look after their welfare: kings' care and caress led to the well-being of the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>10</sup>

Kings like Kuśaketu of Bengal (Vaṅga-deśa) gave protection to hermitages against all dangers from (wild) animals and dasyus. He banished his own son from his country, as the prince had caused terror in the hermitage.<sup>11</sup> The story<sup>12</sup> clearly reflects upon responsibility of the rulers towards the maintenance of such institutions. It also shows that the government did not control the educational institutions, though kings

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1. Sk., VII. i. 106. 36-40.
  2. Ibid., II. v. 15. 71.
  3. Ibid., IV. i. 35. 205.
  4. Ibid., IV. i. 35. 206.
  5. Ibid., IV. i. 35. 207.
  6. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 14.
  7. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 16.
  8. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 17.
  9. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 70.
  10. Ibid., VII. i. 22. 92-97.
  11. Ibid., II. vii. 10. 44-51.
  12. Ibid., Chap. 10 of II. vii.



patronised them by giving charities and other facilities of different kinds to them, protecting them from various dangers. Rājaśekhara refers to sabhās held in famous cities like Ujjayinī for testing the merits and talents of a poet.<sup>1</sup> Rājaśekhara was the gurū of Mahendrapāla, son and successor of Bhoja I.

The spread of learning and education was mainly due to the patronage of the learned kings.<sup>2</sup> King Bhoja Pratihāra of Kānyakubja is mentioned as learned and eloquent.<sup>3</sup> Rājaśekhara associates Pāñcāla-maṇḍala (Kānyakubja-deśa) to poets,<sup>4</sup> who acquired celebrity under patronage of the kings.<sup>5</sup> Rājaśekhara himself enjoyed royal patronage.

### (X) STUDENTS

Just as one gets water by gradually digging the earth, similarly a student learns all the branches of learning by serving his teacher with devotion. Even heaven could be attained by guru-śuśrūṣā.<sup>6</sup>

**Śiva as a student**—Vidyā-dāna was one of the most meritorious acts.<sup>7</sup> Vidyā should be given to all suppliants for it.<sup>8</sup> Śiva, himself, went to a learned teacher, Viṣṇu Śarmā. The latter held that Vidyā can be acquired by guru-śuśrūṣā (service to teachers), puṣkala (by bringing bhikṣā), dhana (money) or by teaching in return (vidyā).<sup>9</sup> Guru-śuśrūṣā has been the most popular way of acquiring knowledge in ancient India.

As stated above learning was upheld as the greatest good of human being.<sup>10</sup> Upanayana ceremony marked the beginning of education in ancient India. After drawing a boy to himself and initiating him the

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1. KM., p. 55/16-25.
  2. Sk., III. iii. 4. 39.
  3. Ibid., VII. ii. 6. 21.
  4. KM., p. 34/17.
  5. Ibid., p. 27/10.
  6. Sk., IV. i. 36. 76; cf. the story of Uttan̄ka.
  7. Ibid., II. v. 5. 17.
  8. Ibid., IV. ii. 58. 101.
  9. Ibid., V. iii. 209. 17.
  10. Ibid., I. ii. 5. 60.



teacher used to instruct him in śaucācāra.<sup>1</sup> Thus Upanayana saṁskāra marked the beginning of the career of a student.<sup>2</sup>

**Life of a student,** After Upanayana saṁskāra, a vidyārthī i.e. one aspiring for learning or a Brahmacārī followed his teacher to gurukula, gurugṛha or āśrama marking the sanctity and austerity of student life.

A teacher should impart instructions to intelligent pupils after taking his bath and performing other religious rites. A student devoted to the service of his teacher<sup>3</sup> mainly studied Vedas sleeping on a wooden couch.<sup>4</sup> He was always engaged in doing good to his teachers, offering obeisance and respectful salutations to them.<sup>5</sup> He carried a daṇḍa wearing girdle, deer-skin and sacred thread and he had to go on begging at the doors of pious people.<sup>6</sup> He observed celibacy throughout his student career and was devoted to the Veda-vratas.<sup>7</sup> It may be added here that a student, studying in the house of a teacher,<sup>8</sup> had to perform many domestic duties like bringing of wood, kuśa-grass, roots, fruits and water.<sup>9</sup>

#### (XI) COMPLETION OF EDUCATION

After the completion of education a student returned to domestic life with the permission of his teacher.<sup>10</sup> But a few of them, styled naiṣṭhika<sup>11</sup> (life-long student) stayed in the house of their teacher till their death.<sup>12</sup> It is borne out by the story of Uttanka living in the

- 
1. Sk., IV. i. 36. 9.
  2. Ibid., IV. i. 33. 40.
  3. Ibid., IV. i. 35. 205.
  4. Ibid., IV. i. 35. 242.
  5. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 14-15.
  6. Ibid., IV. i. 36. 16.
  7. Ibid. IV. i. 36. 32(i).
  8. Ibid., I. ii. 7. 83.
  9. Ibid., I. ii. 7. 82.
  10. Sk., IV. i. 36. 32(ii), 81.
  11. SED., p. 304; "a perpetual religious student who continues, with his spritual preceptor even after the prescribed period, and vows lifelong abstinence and chastity".
  12. Sk., IV. i. 36. 33.



house of his teacher, till he was reminded of his domestic obligations by the sight of a white hair.<sup>1</sup>

## (XII) TEACHER & THE TAUGHT

### Mānanīyo guruḥ

Teacher was held in high esteem (mānanīyo guruḥ).<sup>2</sup> It was a firm belief that the success of a student's life, here and hereafter, depends upon the blessings of his teachers.<sup>3</sup> Hence guru-śuśrūṣānam (service to the teacher)<sup>4</sup> was a pious duty of students. A student is asked not to listen to or stay at the place where 'gurunindā' is involved.<sup>5</sup> But not unoften some differences arose between a teacher and the taught. On such occasions the former reminded the latter that there was no wealth upon the earth by means of which a student might pay off the debt he owed to this teacher. In this context we may recall the story of Śakalya and his disciple Yājñavalkya.<sup>6</sup>

This unhappy incident exhibits the love of truth and justice as well as the freedom of thought which characterised the āṛṣa-culture of this sacred land. "There is not a Ṛṣi but propounds a theory of his own" (nāsau ṛṣir yasya matam na bhinnam).<sup>7</sup>

## (XIII) SUBJECTS OF STUDY

Though education had a religious and spiritual basis, yet the different branches of learning which were then studied and taught clearly show that it was not exclusively religious and the secular education was not neglected.

In the age of the Skanda Purāṇa many vidyās and kalās<sup>8</sup> were

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1. Sk., VII. iii. 2. 2-8.
  2. Ibid., VII. ii. 17. 8.
  3. Ibid., VII. i. 166. 64.
  4. Ibid., V. i. 7. 42; V. i. 36. 70-76.
  5. Ibid., V. i. 36. 64.
  6. Ibid., VI. 278. 22-94.
  7. Garuḍa P., I. 109. 9.
  8. Sk., VII. i. 107. 4.



studied, the number of the former is generally given as eighteen.<sup>1</sup> But sometimes the number of vidyās is given as fourteen only.<sup>2</sup> Among the eighteen vidyās, Mīmāṃsā, Tarkaśāstra, Purāṇa, Dharma Śāstra, Śruti and Upaniṣad are described as the more important ones. They are mentioned in the ascending order of their importance.<sup>3</sup>

#### (XIV) VEDIC STUDIES

From the hoary antiquity to the age of the Skanda Purāṇa as well as to the modern age, Vedas have been regarded as the basis of our entire life and culture.<sup>4</sup> References to Vedābhyāsa,<sup>5</sup> Vedādhyaṇa,<sup>6</sup> and Saṁhitādhyaṇa<sup>7</sup> exhibit the importance of the Vedic studies.

Śaunakīya-vidyā<sup>8</sup> (associated with the Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya), Yajña-vidyā,<sup>9</sup> and Veda-Vedānta-vidyā<sup>10</sup> are also associated with the Vedic studies. Vedas are stated to have been created for the performance of Yajñas, which are performed to propitiate gods.<sup>11</sup>

#### (XV) ITIHĀSA—PURĀṆA

Study of Itihāsa-Purāṇa<sup>12</sup> was most popular among the non-Vedic subjects of study. Skanda refers to Itihāsa<sup>13</sup> and Paurāṇi-vidyā,<sup>14</sup> based on study of the Purāṇas<sup>15</sup> and Upapurāṇas.<sup>16</sup> Itihāsa was also studied

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1. Sk., II. i. 5. 71. VII. i. 206. 125.
  2. Ibid., VII. i. 107. 44.
  3. Ibid., IV. i. 8. 32, 33.
  4. Ibid., II. vii. i. 1. 10
  5. Ibid., III. i. 16. 17.
  6. Ibid., VII. iii. 29. 32.
  7. Ibid., V. i. 7. 14.
  8. Ibid., V. iii. 1. 17.
  9. Ibid., IV. i. 10. 27.
  10. Ibid., II. vii. 22. 50.
  11. Ibid., VII. i. 165. 10-11.
  12. Ibid., VII., i. 22. 23.
  13. Ibid., V. i. 2. 39.
  14. Ibid., V. iii. 1. 17.
  15. Ibid., V. i. 45. 15; VII. 1. 2. 4-8, 28-74.
  16. Ibid., VII. 1.2. 10-15, 79-83.



with all its limbs and collections (saṅgopāṅgetihāsaṅśca sarahasyān sasaṅgrahān).<sup>1</sup>

### (XVI) MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS OF STUDY

**Medicine**—Study of Medicine was very popular. Aṣṭāṅga-Āyurveda,<sup>2</sup> i. e., the eight branches of medical science was a popular subject of study. Viṣavidyā,<sup>3</sup> Viṣa-roga<sup>4</sup> and Sañjīvinī Vidyā—a vidyā that aimed to restore dead to life—also fall under the domain of Āyurvedic studies. Skanda refers to Dhanvantari, Caraka and Nāsatya as the celebrated exponents of Āyurveda.<sup>5</sup>

**Military Science**—Military Science was an important subject of study. Skanda refers to Saṅgrāma-Vidyā,<sup>6</sup> Dhanurveda<sup>7</sup> and Śāstra-śāstra.<sup>8</sup>

**Polity**—It was known as Daṇḍa-nīti,<sup>9</sup> Nīti-śāstra<sup>10</sup> and Rājadharmā.<sup>11</sup> Vidhi<sup>12</sup> (Law or the art of administration) was also a subject of study in which Khāravela had attained proficiency.<sup>13</sup>

Law-books (Smṛtis,<sup>14</sup> and Dharma-śāstras)<sup>15</sup> as well as Artha-śāstra<sup>16</sup> also dealt with Politics.

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1. Sk., V. i. 2. 39.
  2. Ibid., III. ii. 1. 25.
  3. Ibid., IV. i. 46. 17.
  4. Ibid., II. i. 11. 69.
  5. Ibid., IV. i. 1. 71.
  6. Ibid., VII. ii. 14. 41.
  7. Ibid., V. i. 27. 8.
  8. Ibid., IV. i. 48. 8.
  9. Ibid., IV. i. 29. 88.
  10. Ibid., III. i. 18. 7; VI. 104. 16.
  11. Ibid., II. iv. 32. 2.
  12. Ibid., II. v. 12. 37; VII. i. 206. 98.
  13. Hathigumpha (Udayagiri) Ins. of Khāravela, line 2.
  14. Sk., v. i. 45. 15.
  15. Ibid., VII. i. 2. 21.
  16. Ibid., I. i. 9. 24.



## FINE ARTS

**Music**—Skanda refers to the different branches of Music (Gandharva-veda)<sup>1</sup> viz., Gāna-vidyā,<sup>2</sup> Gīta-śāstra<sup>3</sup> or Gīta-vidyā<sup>4</sup> and dancing (nr̥tya),<sup>5</sup> to drama (Naṭa-nartaka-vidyā<sup>6</sup>) and instrumental music.<sup>7</sup> Khāravēla as a connoisseur of Gandharva-veda (Gandharva-veda budho) organised samājas (social gatherings) including dramatical shows, dancing, singing as well as instrumental music (dapa-nata gīta vādita usava samāja).<sup>8</sup>

**Painting**—Painting (Citra-śāstra<sup>9</sup> or Citra<sup>10</sup>-karma) and the erotic science (Kāma-tantra)<sup>11</sup> were also studied.

**Logic and Philosophy**—Logic (Tarka,<sup>12</sup> and Haitukī Vidyā<sup>13</sup>) and Philosophy (Ānvikṣikī Vidyā<sup>14</sup> like Sāṃkhya<sup>15</sup> and heterodox systems 'Pāṣaṇḍa-śāstra)<sup>16</sup> were also studied.

**Astronomy, Astrology** (jyotiṣa-śāstra)<sup>17</sup> and **Palmistry** (Sāmudra),<sup>18</sup> **Yantra-Vidyā**,<sup>19</sup> **Economics** (Vārtā<sup>20</sup> or Arthopārjana-vidyā<sup>21</sup>), **Grammar**

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1. Sk., III. ii. 1. 25.
  2. Ibid., IV. ii. 97. 60.
  3. Ibid., II. ii. 27. 22.
  4. Ibid., IV. i. 8. 25.
  5. Ibid., V. i. 8. 40.
  6. Ibid., II. vii. 22. 49.
  7. Ibid., II. ii. 11. 17; Nr̥tya gayana, Vāditra . . . . .
  8. Hathigumpha Ins. (Udayagiri) of Khāravēla, Line 5.
  9. Sk., VII. i. 3. 16.
  10. Ibid., V. i. 8. 40.
  11. Ibid., V. 1. 30. 45.
  12. Ibid., III. iii. 9. 60.
  13. Ibid., II. vii. 22. 39.
  14. Ibid., I. i. 8. 107.
  15. Ibid., V. i. 63. 186.
  16. Ibid., I. ii. 5. 88.
  17. Ibid., III. ii. 9. 95; IV. ii. 56. 41.
  18. Ibid., VII. i. 209. 16.
  19. Ibid., I. ii. 21. 86, 87.
  20. Ibid., I. ii. 40. 266.
  21. Ibid., IV. i. 32. 67.



(Vyākaraṇa),<sup>1</sup> including **Orthography** (akṣarādhyayana),<sup>2</sup> **Etymology** (Śabda-vidyā<sup>3</sup> or Śabda-Śāstra<sup>4</sup>), **Syntax** (Vākya-jñāna)<sup>5</sup> as well as **Bhāṣā**<sup>6</sup> and **Script** (Lipi),<sup>7</sup> **Drawing** (Lekhya-karma)<sup>8</sup> and various branches of literature viz., **Poetics** (Kāvya-śāstra).<sup>9</sup> **Dramaturgy** (Nāṭyaśāstra),<sup>10</sup> **Stories** (Kāthānakāḥ),<sup>11</sup> **Gāthā, Gīti and Prahelikā**<sup>12</sup> are also mentioned in the text. Mathematics and Astronomy were two allied subjects. Mathematicians (Sāṅkhyātattva - Viśaradāḥ<sup>13</sup> or Sāṅkhyā-Viśaradāḥ)<sup>14</sup> are also mentioned.

Books were composed,<sup>15</sup> and bhūrja-patra was utilised for writing<sup>16</sup> as paper.

### (XVII) LITERATURE KNOWN TO THE SKANDA PURĀṆA

Literature (Vāṇmaya)<sup>17</sup> as described in the Skanda Purāṇa was vast and varied. It was either Vaidika or Laukika (Vaidikam Laukikam caiva)<sup>18</sup>-both in gadya (prose) and padya (poetry).<sup>19</sup>

**Vedic Literature**, Vedas, the most important<sup>20</sup> works of Indian

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1. Sk., III. iii. 9. 6.
  2. Ibid., I. ii. 42. 88.
  3. Ibid., VII. i. 204. 14.
  4. Ibid., IV. i. 40. 160.
  5. Ibid., II. viii. 4. 56.
  6. Ibid., IV i. 7. 5.
  7. Ibid., II. vii. 12. 16; IV. i. 7. 5.
  8. Ibid., vii. 11. 62.
  9. Ibid., VI. 26. 53.
  10. Ibid., IV. i. 8. 24.
  11. Ibid., V. iii. 172. 3.
  12. Ibid., V. i. 45. 15.
  13. Ibid., V. i. 48. 12.
  14. Ibid., II. ix. 24. 63.
  15. Ibid., V. iii. 83. 17.
  16. Ibid., V. iii. 96. 36.
  17. Ibid., V. ii. 74. 47.
  18. Ibid., I. ii. 5. 117; V. iii. 186. 15.
  19. Ibid., II. ii. 11. 109.
  20. Ibid., IV. ii. 95. 13.



literature, are four along with their parts, and sub-parts,<sup>1</sup> comprising appendices (Pariśiṣṭas).<sup>2</sup> They are Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda.<sup>3</sup> The first three Vedas—Ṛg, Yajur and Sāma<sup>4</sup> are called Trayī.<sup>5</sup>

Pārāśaramuni (Vyāsa) is said to have arranged the Vedas into many Śakhās<sup>6</sup> of which Vājasaneyaka-veda<sup>7</sup> was one. Vedāṅga,<sup>8</sup> i. e. six limbs of the Vedas (Śadaṅga).<sup>9</sup> Chanda, Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad are also mentioned in our text.<sup>10</sup>

**Itihāsa**<sup>11</sup>—"Epic story falls into two main classes. That which embraces old stories goes by the name of Itihāsa".<sup>12</sup> The Skanda Purāṇa defines Itihāsa as an old account (yathā vṛttam itihāsam purā-tanam).<sup>13</sup> It is based on past accounts (kathitam pūrvato vṛttaiḥ pāramparyeṇa).<sup>14</sup> Thus Itihāsa is history tracing its source to the tradition and old accounts.

**Kathā**—The tales recited in the assemblies,<sup>15</sup> and Ākhyāna or Ākhyāyikā<sup>16</sup> were very popular. There were different types of stories (vividhā-kathāḥ)<sup>17</sup> There were religious stories (dharma-kathā).<sup>18</sup> as well as stories based on heroic adventures (nānā

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1. Sk., VI. 278. 106.
  2. Ibid., VI. 278. 115.
  3. Ibid., III. ii. 1. 31.
  4. Ibid., V. iii. 14. 3.
  5. Ibid., V. iii. 11. 15.
  6. Ibid., IV. ii. 95. 2-3.
  7. Ibid., V. iii. 200. 16.
  8. Ibid., V. iii. 1. 13.
  9. Ibid., VII. i. 2. 3.
  10. Ibid., VII. i. 3. 29.
  11. Macadonnell, I. G. I., Vol. II, 1909, p. 234.
  12. Sk., III. i. 10. 41.
  13. Ibid., V. iii. 72. 8.
  14. Ibid., V. iii. 72. 9.
  15. Ibid., VII. i. 24. 133.
  16. Ibid., II. vi. 3. 20.
  17. KSS., LXXIV. 186.
  18. Sk., VII. iii. 60. 4.



śaurya-kathā).<sup>1</sup> Skanda distinguishes between kathā and gāthā. The former is connected with the vācakas, whereas the latter is associated with 'kavis'.<sup>2</sup> It also refers to legends, songs and riddles (gāthāḥ-gīti-prahelikāḥ).<sup>3</sup>

**Mahābhārata**<sup>4</sup>—It is associated with the sage Pārāśara Vyāsa.<sup>5</sup> It is styled an ākhyāna<sup>6</sup> and hence styled Bhārataakhyāna.<sup>7</sup> Vyāsa composed it for the elucidation of the Vedas at the end of Dvāpara comprising one lac śloka.<sup>8</sup>

**Rāmopākhyāna**—Rāmopākhyāna, or the story of Rāma and his achievements, composed by Vālmiki, is regarded as the best work known for its popularity.<sup>9</sup> It was related to Nārada by Brahmā and then the former told it to Vālmiki,<sup>10</sup> who composed it for attainment of dharma, artha, and kāma by the people in this world.<sup>11</sup> Rāmāyaṇa is a famous Kāvya,<sup>12</sup> written by Ṛṣi-Vālmiki.<sup>13</sup> Skanda gives the well-known account of his life (Chap. XXIV of V.i.).

The Skanda Purāṇa mentions muni Kṛṣṇa as the son of Vālmiki.<sup>14</sup>

**Purāṇas**<sup>15</sup>—Purāṇas are as much important in the varied and vast range of Indian literature as are the Veda, Smṛti and Itihāsas, from the religious as well as secular point of view.

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1. Sk., I. ii. 16. 30.
  2. Ibid., V. i. 47. 35.
  3. Ibid., V. i. 45. 15.
  4. Ibid., IV. ii. 95. 4.
  5. Ibid., IV. ii. 95. 4.
  6. Ibid., II. vii. 19. 12.
  7. Ibid., VII. ii. 1. 99.
  8. Ibid., VII. i. 2. 94-95(i).
  9. Ibid., VII. i. 2. 95(ii).
  10. Ibid., VII. i. 2. 96.
  11. Ibid., VII. i. 2. 97.
  12. Ibid., VII. i. 278-58.
  13. Ibid., VII. i. 278. 78.
  14. Ibid., II. vii. 21. 63-64.
  15. Ibid., III. i. 16. 19.



Paurāṇi Vidya<sup>1</sup> or Purāṇa-Vidya<sup>2</sup> is described as one of the three major branches of learning, the other two being Śaunakīyā (i.e. Veda-vidyā) and Dharm-śāstrātmikā<sup>3</sup>, i.e. Dharma-śāstra. Purāṇa is also styled Pañcama Veda.<sup>4</sup> Chapter one of the Revā Khaṇḍa (verses 13 to 26 i.e. V. iii. 1. 13-26) deals with Purāṇa-mahatmya. Purāṇas, eighteen in number, are ascribed to Vyāsa.<sup>5</sup> Lists of the Purāṇas and the Upa-Purāṇas are also given in our text.<sup>6</sup>

**Dharma-Śāstra**—Smṛti,<sup>7</sup> Smṛtiśāstra<sup>8</sup> or Dharmaśāstra<sup>9</sup> has been an important branch of Saṃskṛta literature. Dharmaśāstra is mentioned as one of the three main branches of learning.<sup>10</sup> There were many Smṛtis.<sup>11</sup> The sages who specialised in this branch of knowledge have been styled Smṛtikāras,<sup>12</sup> or Dharmaśāstrajñas.<sup>13</sup> Skanda gives an exhaustive list of the traditional law-givers (Dharmaśāstra-prayojakas)<sup>14</sup> — Atri, Āpastamba, Aṅgiraḥ, Agastya, Āruṇi, Bṛhaspati, Bhṛgu, Bharata, Bharadvāja, Cyavana, Dadhīci, Dakṣa, Gautama, Gaṇava, Hāṇiti, Jaimini, Jaigīshavya, Jātūkarnya, Kātyāyana Kāuśika, Kaṇva, Lomaśa, Manu, Maṇḍavya, Mudgala, Nārada, Nāciketa, Parāśara, Pippalāda, Śaṅkha, Śaṇḍilya, Śatatapa, Śakti, Uśanas, Uddālaka, Viṣṇu, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Vatsayana, Vāḷakhilya, Yājñavalkya, and Yama.<sup>15</sup> Manu<sup>16</sup> and his work (Mānava Śāstra) are the most famous in the history of

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1. Sk., V. iii. 1. 17.
  2. Ibid., II. iv. 34.. 43.
  3. Ibid., V. iii. 1. 17.
  4. Ibid., V. iii. 1. 18. (ii).
  5. Ibid., V. iii. 1. 13. 28-29.
  6. Ibid., V. iii. 1. 32-44; VII. i. 2. 4-8.
  7. Ibid., I. ii. 14. 83.
  8. Ibid., I. ii. 46. 107.
  9. Ibid., I. ii. 46. 108; VII. i. 2. 21.
  10. Ibid., V. iii. 1. 17-18.
  11. Ibid., II. vii. 19. 12.
  12. Ibid., I. 1. 15. 43.
  13. Ibid., I. i. 15. 45.
  14. Ibid., I. ii. 40. 210.
  15. Ibid., V. iii. 97. 91, 132-136.
  16. Ibid., VI. 209. 62.



Dharmaśāstra.<sup>1</sup> Likhita and Śaṅkha are described as brothers<sup>2</sup> Skanda refers to Yājñavalkya, Kātyāyana, and Vararuci<sup>3</sup> as well as many commentators of law.<sup>4</sup>

**Kāvya**—Kāvya<sup>5</sup> was another important branch of Saṁskṛt literature. There must have been many Kāvya.<sup>6</sup> It was a Śāstra.<sup>7</sup>

Skanda refers to the critical study and analysis of the characteristics of a Kāvya (Kāvya-cinhaparīkṣaṇam).<sup>8</sup>

**Vyākaraṇa**—Saṁskṛta styled divya-bhāṣā<sup>9</sup> was based on its refined character and hence grammar rose to the dignity of a science called Vyākaraṇa śāstra.<sup>10</sup> There seems to have existed many schools or works of grammar as is evident from the word Vyākaraṇāni.<sup>11</sup> Dhvaniḥ, varṇaḥ, Padaṁ and Vākyam<sup>12</sup> trace their origin from Siva.<sup>13</sup>

Pāṇini, the great grammarian, is stated to have attained proficiency in grammar by performing penances on Goparvata, a Saivite sacred spot.<sup>14</sup>

### (XVIII) LANGUAGES

There were many Languages,<sup>15</sup> the vehicles of thought,<sup>16</sup> but Saṁskṛta, Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa were the most popular.<sup>17</sup> Skanda

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1. Sk., VI. 158. 62.
  2. Ibid., VI. 209. 50.
  3. Ibid., VI. 271. 414-415.
  4. Ibid., I. ii. 46. 108.
  5. Ibid., I. ii. 40. 70; III. i. 10. 41.
  6. Ibid., VI. 272. 40.
  7. Ibid., VI. 26. 53.
  8. Ibid., VII. i. 2. 1.
  9. Ibid., VII. i. 1. 17.
  10. Ibid., III. i. 10. 40.
  11. Ibid., III. iii. 966.
  12. Ibid., I. ii. 40. 65.
  13. Ibid., I. ii. 40. 66; VI. 254. 34.
  14. Ibid., I. IIIU. 2. 68.
  15. Ibid., I. ii. 30. 71.
  16. Ibid., III. ii. 39. 286.
  17. Ibid., VII. i. 147. 51.



exhibits its knowledge of languages and scripts, both indigenous and foreign (*bhāṣāśca nānā deśanām lipirjñatvā videśajāḥ*).<sup>1</sup> There is evidence for the use of local dialect (*deśa-bhāṣā*) also.<sup>2</sup>

*Samśkrta*, mentioned as the refined speech of *dvijātis*,<sup>3</sup> was brought to light by *Brahmā* Himself.<sup>4</sup> It is styled divine and sacred (*daivī puṇyā*), where as *asamśkrta* *Vaṇi* is held to be inauspicious bringing loss of life.<sup>5</sup> *Samśkrta* was also called *Veda-Vāṇī*.<sup>6</sup>

The *Samśkrta* alphabets<sup>7</sup> comprise fourteen vowels and thirty-three consonants as well as *Anusvāra*, *Visarjanīya*, *Jihvāmūliya*, and *Upadhamāniya*. Thus the number reaches to fifty-two.<sup>8</sup>

### (XIX) AGENCIES OF EDUCATION

Discussions,<sup>9</sup> debates and literary conferences formed an important feature of the intellectual life in ancient India. *Śāstrārtha* was an important pastime of the *Brāhmaṇas*.<sup>10</sup> They kept themselves absorbed in deep studies.<sup>11</sup>

*Nārada* moved about in the different parts of the country testing knowledge of the *Brāhmaṇas* living in the hermitages. He had twelve questions with him. He reached *Kalāpagrama*, where eighty-four thousand *Brāhmaṇas* were living. They were engaged in various sorts of discussions. *Nārada* challenged their knowledge pointing out futility of their studies like the shrieks of a crow. The challenge was accepted by the *Brāhmaṇas* who were prepared to answer the question *Nārada* liked to ask.<sup>12</sup>

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1. Sk., IV. i. 7. 5.
  2. Ibid., IV. I. 7.5.
  3. Ibid., V. 1. 4. 38.
  4. Ibid., V. i. 4. 38.
  5. Ibid., V. i. 4. 38.
  6. Ibid., V. i. 4. 41.
  7. Ibid., I. ii. 5. 50.
  8. Ibid., I. ii. 5. 51-52.
  9. Ibid., VII. i. 24. 133.
  10. Ibid. I. ii. 32. 165.
  11. Ibid., I. ii. 5. 1.
  12. Ibid., I. ii. 5. 20-44.



While they were saying; "First I will answer, first I", Nārada put all the twelve questions to them.<sup>1</sup> Hearing them the learned sages told him that the questions were triflings and could be answered by anyone whom he considered to be dull amongst them. Nārada was surprised when a boy named Sutanu correctly and intelligently answered the questions put to him by Nārada.<sup>2</sup> The boy further went on explaining and elaborating the meaning and spirit of Nārada's question.<sup>3</sup> The latter was extremely pleased to acknowledge the intellectual superiority of the boy.<sup>4</sup> This episode reflects upon the influence of Brahmanical culture beyond the Himalayas in Central Asia; as Kalāpa-grama lay beyond the Himalaya in the Bālukaṇṇava (Desert of Gobi).

Śatātapa<sup>5</sup> and Harita<sup>6</sup> were the learned teachers under whom such boys scaled the heights of intellect.

**Sūdras and Education :** There is a dark side of the educational system from the modern point of view. Śūdras could not be taught the Śāstras like Vyākaraṇa,<sup>7</sup> Kāvya, Nāṭaka Alaṅkāra, Purāṇas and Itihāsa.<sup>8</sup> If a Brāhmaṇa taught any of the above mentioned subjects to a Śūdra even in distress, he was to be turned out of a Brāhmaṇa village.<sup>9</sup>

### (XXI) FEMALE EDUCATION

Ladies learnt different branches of learning. Sīmantiṇī, daughter of King Citravarmā, is compared to Bhārati (Bhāratiya kalābhijñā).<sup>10</sup> Sister of Bṛhaspati is mentioned as a Brahṃavādinī.<sup>11</sup> Śaṇḍilī is

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1. Sk., I. ii. 5. 45-46.
  2. Ibid., I. ii. 5. 47-49,
  3. Ibid., I. ii. 5. 84.
  4. Ibid., I. ii. 6. 2-4.
  5. Ibid., I. ii. 6. 5.
  6. Ibid., I. ii. 6. 22.
  7. Ibid., III. i. 10. 40.
  8. Ibid., III. i. 10. 41.
  9. Ibid., III. i. 10. 43.
  10. Ibid., III. iii. 8. 20 (ii).
  11. Ibid., VII. i. 12. 69.



also mentioned as Brahmācārīṇī.<sup>1</sup> The Purāṇa refers to a 'vedavātī kanyā'.<sup>2</sup>

Indra told the king Citraṅgada that Urvaśī should be taught the arts of painting and dancing.<sup>3</sup> Very soon she attained proficiency in singing and dancing.<sup>4</sup> Thus we find that these branches of fine art were also studied by ladies.

**Women and Śāstragoṣṭhī**—It is interesting to note that women also took part in the literary conferences. In the city of Camatkara-pura, Dhārā, wife of a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa, was engaged in the śāstra-goṣṭhī<sup>5</sup> with Arundhatī near the Śaṅkha-tīrtha. Thus "we have reasons to believe that women, including those not belonging to the higher classes had some opportunities, as in the preceding Age, for liberal education as well as training in the fine arts. Rājaśekhara refers . . . . . to examples of princesses, of daughters of high officials (mahāmātra), of courtezans, and of concubines who were poetesses as well as adept in sciences (Śāstra). In Avanti Sundarī, the accomplished wife of Rājaśekhara, we have a striking illustration of a lady deeply learned in Sanskrit lore".<sup>5</sup>

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1. Sk., VI. 31. 38.

2. Ibid., II. i. 5. 18. (ii).

3. Ibid., V. i. 8. 40.

4. Ibid., V. I. 8. 41.

5. Ibid., VI 169. 9.

6. A. I. K., p. 367.



## CHAPTER II

**ECONOMIC LIFE****(I) THE SKANDA PURĀṆA : As A Source of Economic Life**

The Purāṇas contain valuable data relating to Ancient Indian Economics. In most of the Purāṇas we find statements relating to the importance of wealth. The age of Pṛthu witnessed the growth of material culture and civilisation. The importance of cattle rearing with special reference to cow and bull are represented by such names as Gomati (the river), and vṛṣa (bull), the latter represents Śiva in theriomorphic form (cf. Śiva P., III. 22.55 and III. chap. 23). There are interesting accounts of merchants moving from one end of the country viz., Pūrvadeśa to the other end i. e. Uttarāpatha and even going to Dvīpāntara on their ships in the quest of gems. In the Purāṇas, like the Dharmaśāstras of Manu, Bṛhaspat and Nārada etc. we find the classification of wealth (trividham dhanam) which throws valuable light on the occupations of people. Thus the vast Purāṇic literature throws valuable light on the economic life of ancient India.

The Skanda Purāṇa is one of the most important text of the entire series. It refers to Indian villages. Kumarikā khanda is divided into 72 provinces (actually 75 pradeśas) each of which is assigned a particular number of villages. In the inscriptions also we find corroborative evidence of the villages assigned to particular provinces. However, the prominent and pertinent account of these villages of the country exhibits the importance of rural economy in ancient Indian civilisation. Similarly there is reference to **Velakulāni** (sea-coast) which reflects upon the maritime importance of the sea-coast.

The different sections of the Skanda Purāṇa reflect upon the economic life of the different regions extending from the Kedara Khanda to the Setu-Pranta. Life and its economic institutions were uniform as they are even today with a few varieties influenced by local conditions. The same patterns of agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade had prevailed through out the country.



The analytical study of each section of this vast oceanic text can not be attempted here. It requires some regional experts to study in their particular regions as Dr. R. N. Mehta of Baroda university is engaged in the study of Kumārika Khaṇḍa with special reference to Mahī Sāgara Saṁgama and Nāgara Khaṇḍa. Even today this vast oceanic text remains buried deep without attracting the notice of scholars who have selected this field of study. Thus without entering into general discussions about local conditions and regional peculiarities with their details an attempt has been made here to discuss the various economic institutions prevailing in the country during the epoch of the Skanda Purāṇa i. e. in the early Medieval India under the reign of the Pratiharas and the Gahadawalas.<sup>1</sup>

## (II) KARMABHŪMI-BHĀRATA

“The first condition of the progress of a people in political life and civilization is its possession of a fixed and definite piece of territory which it can call and serve as its own mother-country. A people that has not found a home for itself but lives in unstable and unsettled conditions, in unrest and uncertainty lacks the conditions in which culture and civilisation can take their rise. . . . . The country is to a nation what the body is to the individual. The early progress of the Indians in culture and civilization was owing to their first grasp of India as their common motherland—Bhāratavarṣa. The Purāṇas expressly define the term Bhāratavarṣa as the country that lies north of the ocean (i. e. Indian Ocean) and south of the snowy mountains (Himālayās), marked by seven chains of mountains. . . . . where dwell the descendants of the Bharatas.”<sup>2</sup> Dr. Mookerji asserts that “this vast Indian continent stretching from Kashmir to Cape Comorin is endowed by nature with magnificent physical potentialities and resources which. . . . . are calculated to make her economically self-sufficient and independent.”<sup>3</sup>

In the Pṛthvī Sūkta praises are sung of the mother-country as the land girt by the sea and fertilised by the rivers that pour down their

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1. Cf. St. Sk., Part I, pp. 188-196

2. Radhakumud Mookerji, Hindu Civilization, pp. 56-57.

3. NHC., p. 9.



bounty in streams of plenty, the land of hills and snowy mountains and forests giving protection to her sons.....; the all-producing mother of herbs. ....the land of agriculture, of kine, of horses, of birds, of elephants....., yet yielding a thousand streams of property like a steady, unresisting milch-cow.”<sup>1</sup> Almost all the Purāṇas mention the story of Pṛthu who milked the earth like a cow for the benefit of the whole country; and it marked the dawn of the material civilization.<sup>2</sup>

In the entire series of the Purāṇic literature the Skanda Purāṇa is a work of unique character glorifying the entire country from Kedāra-khaṇḍa in north to Setu in south and from Utkala-khaṇḍa (or Puruṣottama kṣetra) in east to Dvārakā kṣetra, Prabhāsa, and Mahī-sāgara in the west. Thus the Skanda Purāṇa presents to us the entire country from the Himālayas to Rānasetu—Himācala-Setuparyantam; and this Purāṇa carries us, beyond the Southern Ocean, to islands—a region called Dvīpāntara which was also an important cultural and commercial limb of Bhāratavarṣa<sup>3</sup>.

The Skanda Purāṇa not only mentions the names of the nine divisions of Bhāratavarṣa viz. Indradvīpa, Kaseru, Tāmradvīpa, Gabhastimāna, Nāgadvīpa, Saumya, Gandharva, Vāruṇa and Kumārikā,<sup>4</sup> but also it refers to the economic products of Kumārikā khaṇḍa (khaṇḍodbhavana dravyeṇa dānāni yacchatī).<sup>5</sup> The entire Bhāratavarṣa comprised grāmas, ‘pattanas’ and ‘velākūlāni’.<sup>6</sup> which refer to villages (grāmas), towns and cities (pattanaṇi) and sea-ports (velākūlāni).<sup>7</sup> Thus The Skanda Purāṇa indicates its knowledge of political and rural economy as the grāmas not only reflect the rural economy but their number assigned to a particular province represented its revenue. Similarly pattanas i.e. towns and cities represented the centres of trade and commerce: Velākūlāni represent the sea-ports situated on the coastal plains<sup>8</sup> impor-

1. NHC, pp. 13-14.

2. PPI. pp. XVI-XVII.

3. KM., p-12/2-3; PBH. BH. S., pp. 17-19.

4. Sk., I. ii. 39. 69; India And The world, pp. 45-60, St. Sk., Pt. I., pp.19-20.

5. Sk., I. ii. 39. 122(i).

6. Ibid., I. ii. 39. 126.

7. GAMI, p.

8. St. Sk., Pt. I pp. 15-16.



tance of which is borne out by the author of *Periplus*, Ptolemy and Muslim travellers. *Barbaricum* of *Periplus* is the same as *Barbarika* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*.<sup>1</sup> There is a reference to sea-voyage to *Campā-vāvtī* or *Campā*.<sup>2</sup> *Velākūla* comprising the famous ports of *Bhṛgukaccha*,<sup>3</sup> *Jayantī* (*Vaijayantī*, or *Vanavāsī*),<sup>4</sup> *Valabhī*,<sup>5</sup> *śūrparaka*,<sup>6</sup> *Viṭaṅkapura*<sup>7</sup> and *Tamraliptī*<sup>8</sup> had unique significance in the economic life of ancient India, and the *Skanda Purāṇa* mentions sea-voyages from *Simhla* to *Stambhatīrtha* (*Cambay*) and vice versa.<sup>9</sup>

Like *Kauṭilya*<sup>10</sup>, who mentions the merits of a good country, *Skanda* also describes the merits of an ideal country<sup>11</sup>. It should be rich in corn<sup>12</sup>.

*Bhāratavarṣa*, surrounded by seas on the south, east and west and by the *Himavān* on the north, is mentioned as the land having the seeds of all the fruits.<sup>13</sup> Hence this vast region (*mahāvarṣam*),<sup>14</sup> comprising seas, mountains, forests, rivers, villages, towns, cities and ports,<sup>15</sup> is aptly styled a propitious field of action (*karmabhūmiḥ*).<sup>16</sup>

The vast range of the *Himālayas*, touching the eastern and the western seas,<sup>17</sup> supports many created beings.<sup>18</sup> Apart from the reli-

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1. *Sk.*, p. 119.
  2. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
  3. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
  4. *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 126
  5. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
  6. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
  7. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
  8. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
  9. *Ibid.*, I. ii.
  10. *KA.* VI. i. 8.
  11. *Sk.*, IV. i. 24. 4-21; (*St. Sk. Pt. I*, pp. 258-259.)
  12. *Sk.*, V. ii. 62. 43 (i)
  13. *Ibid.*, VII. i. 11. 13-14.
  14. *Ibid.*, IV. i. 22. 72.
  15. *Ibid.*, IV. ii. 85. 2.
  16. *Ibid.*, VII. ii. 12. 36-37
  17. *Ibid.* I. ii. 22. 12-13 (cf. *Kumārasambhavam* I.)
  18. *Sk.*, I. ii. 22. 14-18.



gious sanctity of the Uttara Parvatam comprising Kedara khaṇḍa (I.i.) and Badarī (II. iii), its forests (Himavad-vana)<sup>1</sup> yield valuable herbs, timber and other articles of economic importance. Himavān is mentioned as a store of precious stones (sarva-ratna-nidhānaśca)<sup>2</sup>. Kalidāsa mentions the trees of devadaru, bhūrja and kicaka (bamboos) as well as musk, elephants, herbs and mineral dust as the products of the Himalaya.<sup>3</sup>

The forest of Nepāla also abound in various types of wild animals viz., elephants, deer, monkeys, boars, tigers, lions, bears, sambara (a kind of deer) and rhinoceros etc. as well as other birds and beasts<sup>4</sup>. These forests also abound in various trees.<sup>5</sup> A typical variety of blanket (Nepāla kambala)<sup>6</sup> is also mentioned.

Kubera, styled Dhanada<sup>7</sup> and 'dhanagopta'<sup>8</sup> resides on the Himalayas. Raghu made up his mind to conquer the Lord of wealth, Kubera, who is stated to have poured down gold in Ayodhya.<sup>9</sup> Thus it is evident that the Himalaya was the main agent of the prosperity of Madhyadeśa watered by the Gaṅgā, and the the Yamunā along with numerous other rivers, which are true wealth-givers.

Thus Āryāvarta,<sup>10</sup> the priveleged land, is gifted with the fertile soil watered by many rivers. Antarvedī,<sup>11</sup> the Gangetic Doab, comprised Kānyakubja deśa<sup>12</sup>, the prosperity of which is exhibited by thirtysix lacs of villages it contained (Sk. I ii. 39. 29 b), Mathurā (II.VI), Kośala (II. viii) and. Kāśī (IV) were also prosperous countries of Bharatavarṣa.

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1. Sk., VII. 119. 15 (i)
  2. Ibid., V. ii. 67. 34 (ii)
  3. Raghuvamśa, IV.71-76; Skanda (II. viii. 4. 34-39 also mentions the conquests of Raghu.
  4. Sk., V. ii. 70. 4-6
  5. Ibid., V. ii. 70. 22
  6. Ibid., IV. i. 30. 45 (i)
  7. Ibid., V. iii. 41. 6
  8. Ibid., V.,iii. 41. 9
  9. Ibid., II. viii. 4. 61-63
  10. Ibid., IV. i. 22. 37.
  11. Ibid., IV. i. 22. 56.
  12. Sk., VII. ii. 6. 141 here it is styled 'mahadeśa' ruled by Bhoja (I).



Śrīkanṭha deśa was also rich in corn and plants.<sup>1</sup>

Āvanti (V) was also a prosperous country where Ujjayinī was a great centre of trade and commerce. Ānarta<sup>1</sup> (VI) or north Gujarat was also a prosperous country (dhan-dhanya-samākulam)<sup>2</sup> abounding in corn and animals<sup>3</sup>

Raivataka hill of Saurāstra is mentioned to be rich in various minerals viz, copper, silver<sup>4</sup>, gold and iron as well as invaluable stones.<sup>5</sup> It was also rich in flora and fauna.<sup>6</sup> Coastal forests contained valuable trees<sup>7</sup>. The Rāmāyaṇa gives a graphic account of the various types of coastal products viz., various kinds of trees, metals and pearls.<sup>8</sup> The western coast was adorned with nārikela-vana (cocoa-nut)<sup>9</sup>. The Skanda Purāṇa also exhibits its knowledge of nālikeravanī.<sup>10</sup>

Modern Orissa<sup>11</sup> consisted of Oḍhra, Utkala and Kalinga<sup>12</sup>. Utkala watered by the rivers Rṣikulyā, Svarṇarekhā and Mahāndī was situated on the sea-coast<sup>13</sup>. It abounded in various trees viz., arjuna, aśoka, punnāga, tala, hiṇṭala, śāla, prācīna-āmalaka, lodhra, bakula, nāgakeśara, nārikela, priyāla, sarala, devadāru, dhava, khadira, bilva, panasa, kapittha, campaka, karṇikāra, kovidāra, pāṭala kadamba, nimba, nicula, rasāla, āmalaka, nāgarāṅga, jambīra, nīpa, mātuluṅga, mandāra, pārijāta, nyagrodha, aguru, candana, kharjūra, āmrātaka, mucukunda, kiṇśuka, tiṇḍuka, sapta-parṇa, aśvattha, bibhīta, mālatī

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1. Sk., VII. i. 35. 31.
  2. Ibid VI. 72.7.
  3. Ibid., VI. 16. 7.
  4. Ibid., VII ii. 69. 71-72.
  5. Ibid VII. ii. 1. 73-74.
  6. Ibid., I. ii. 15. 58.
  7. Araṇya K., 35. 11-13, 18, 21-24.
  8. Ibid., 35. 13.
  9. Sk., VII. i. 308. 47 (ii).
  10. HO., p. 1.
  12. St. Sk., Pt. I, pp. 79-80.
  13. Sk. II. ii. 6. 2-3, 27.



karavīra, ketakī, elā, lavaṅga kaṅkola, daḍima, bijapūra and pūgavana. etc.<sup>1</sup> It was also rich in agricultural produce<sup>2</sup>.

**Narmadā valley**—The Revākhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa (V.iii.) dealing with the tīrthas situated on both the sides of the Narmadā describes various trees, birds and beasts of the forests growing on the Vindhya range. Trees viz. campaka, karṇakāra, punnāga, nāgakesara, bakula, kovidāra, daḍima, arjuna, bilva, pāṭala, ketaka, kadamba, āmra, madhūka, nimba, jambīra, tinduka, nālikera, kapittha, kharjūra and panasa, as well as **animals** viz. lions, tigers, boars, elephants, (wild) buffaloes, deer, leopard and rhinoceros etc.<sup>3</sup> are mentioned.

The Skanda Purāṇa mentions an other forest viz. Hanumanta vana stretching along the southern bank of the Revā near its confluence with the river Uri on the Vindhya-parvata. It also comprised various types of trees, elephants, lions, leopards, deer, and boar etc.<sup>4</sup>

Bhṛgukṣetra or Bhṛgukaccha adorned with hundreds of temples was inhabited, among others, by vaiśyas following their own professions. Their commercial activities made it an important centre of trade. It was verily an abode of the goddess of wealth.<sup>5</sup>

**Uttarāpatha**—None of the sections of the Skanda Purāṇa is devoted to the account of north western India. But it exhibits its knowledge of some important products of Kapiśa (its wine called Kapiśāyanam),<sup>6</sup> Kāmboja<sup>7</sup> and Sindhu<sup>8</sup> for horses.

**Southern India**—According to Hwen Thsang's account Southern India comprised the whole of the peninsula to the south of the Tāptī and Mahānadi rivers, from Nasik on the west, to Ganjam on the east."<sup>9</sup>

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1. Sk., II. ii. 6-18-27

2. Ibid., II. ii. 6. 16

3. Ibid., V. iii. 2. 16-24

4. Ibid., V. iii. 83. 38-42,55

5. Ibid., V. iii. 182. 9-11.

6. Ibid., I. iiiv. 19. 57.

7. Ibid., I. viii. 23. 1.

8. Ibid., II. viii. 5. 26.

9. AG. p. 434.



The Kāśī Khaṇḍa indicates the knowledge of South India relating to its geographical, cultural and economic factors represented by its mountains viz; Malaya, Trikūṭa, Suvelādri, Sahya and Dardura, as well as its rivers viz, Kāverī and Gautamī (Godāvarī) and Cola deśa with its famous city of Kāñcī. It also mentions Mahārāṣṭrī—the principal Prākṛta dialect, the Language of Mahārāṣṭra.<sup>1</sup> Such was South India—Dakṣiṇā-āśā<sup>2</sup> lying south of the Vindhya mountains extending up to Suvelādri. It was surrounded by the ocean (kṣīrodaka-varambarāṁ).<sup>3</sup>

The Skanda Purāṇa further mentions lavaṅga (clove-plant), elā (cardamom), mṛga-muda (musk) candra (camphor), candana (sandal), tāmbūli (betel-plant), drakṣā (vine or grapecreeper), lavalī (a kind of creeper), kaṅkoli and pallava (tigs), most of which are the products of the coastal forests.<sup>4</sup> “The shore is skirted with coconuts and the villages surrounded with groves of betel-nut palm and talipot Cassia and cardamom flowish wild in the jungles.....Forests of odoriferous sandalwood abound in mysore and the adjoining districts”.<sup>5</sup>

Rājaśekhara refers to the famous products of the Malaya region watered by the river Tamraparṇī viz., ‘kakkolaka, elā, marica (pepper), camphor, sandala and pearls<sup>6</sup> etc. The country of Cola and its celebrated city of Kāñcī were famous for the commercial enterprise. Colāṅśuka,<sup>7</sup> probahly, represents the fine cloth made in Cola-deśa. These are stated to be merits of South India responsible for its material prosperity.<sup>8</sup>

**Vasundharā**—It is because of the various types of wealth (vasu) contained in this land, it is aplly called vasundharā.

“It has often been said that ancient Indian society was not an

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1. Sk., IV. i. 2. 9-11.

2. Ibid., IV. 1. 2. 12(i)

3. Ibid., IV. i. 2. 9(i)

4. Ibid., IV i. 2. 7-8; धनसारश्चंद्रसंज्ञइत्यमरः

5. HSI., p. 39. of., Raghuvamśa IV. 44ff; R. Kiṣkindha K., 41. 6 ff.

6. KM., pp. 92. 18-26; 93. 1-5; also p. 77. 13-16

7. Sk., IV. i. 2. 10(i)

8. Ibid., IV. i. 2. 11(ii)



acquisitive one. Admittedly the Brāhmaṇas, who claimed moral and spiritual leadership, set themselves ideals of dignified austerity, but these ideals were not always followed in practice.....According to the doctrine of the three aims of life, the place of wealth in the Hindu scheme of things was well established.....From the time of the Ṛg Veda, which contains many prayers for riches, worldly wealth was looked on as morally desirable for the ordinary man, and indeed essential to a full and civilized life".<sup>1</sup> The ascetic, whether Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist or Jain, who followed the life of renunciation, denounced the possession or the pursuits of wealth.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of land or a country as a means of support and sustenance was realised in the Upaniṣadic age.<sup>3</sup> The old story of Pṛthu not only refers to the birth of material civilization,<sup>4</sup> but it also reflects upon the importance of the earth for the material development of human society.<sup>5</sup> Pṛthu, who milked the cow that was the earth, is mentioned as, 'vṛttidaḥ'<sup>6</sup> or 'vṛtti-vidhātā',<sup>7</sup> the bestower of livelihood. The age of Pṛthu is marked by the beginning of agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade.<sup>8</sup> The earth is thus, rightly mentioned as the means of fulfilling all the desires and a source of pleasure to all the created beings<sup>9</sup> She is aptly styled 'dhātṛī', 'vidhātṛī', dharaṇī and vasundharā<sup>10</sup>—the basis and foundation of material wealth. She is the

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1. Basham. A. L., The Wonder that was India, p. 215.
  2. Bhāgavata P., XI. 23. 15-27; Tilakamañjarī, p.26.
  3. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, I. 4. 1. 4. The earth is here styled 'Pūṣā.
  4. Sk., VII. i. 336. 67(ii)ff.  
Bhāgavata P., IV. Chaps. XVI-XX, etc.  
Brahmaṇḍa P., I. i. 105 (ii)-106.
  5. Sankalia, H. D., PPI. pp. XVI-XVII.
  6. Sk., VII. i. 336. 115.
  7. Ibid., VII. i. 336. 116.  
Bhāgavata P., refers to him as 'Vartāpatiḥ,' (IV. 17. 11) and 'vṛttidhaḥ' (IV. 18. 30).
  8. Sk., VII. i. 336. 140-145.
  9. Ibid., VII. i. 336. 168(ii).
  10. Ibid., VII. i. 336. 169.  
Viṣṇu P., II. 4. 98.



exalted vasudhā, being a repository of wealth (vasun dhārayate yasmād vasudhā tena kīrtitā).<sup>1</sup> Extending upto the seas, she is the basis of the universe.<sup>2</sup>

This prosperous country, the land of actions<sup>3</sup> comprised seventy-two provinces along with 96,72,00,000 'pattanas' and 36,000 'velākūlāni'.<sup>4</sup> The large number of 'grāmas' indicates the richness of the country based on land-revenue (grāmasamkhyā).<sup>5</sup> The 'velākūlāni', on the other hand represent the extensive coastline, the importance of which in the commercial life of a county is stressed upon by Ptolemy<sup>6</sup> and the author of the Periplus of the Erythraen Sea.<sup>7</sup> The accounts of the Arab geographers and Muslim chroniclers also throw much light on the coastal trade of India. "The Kingdom of Balhara-the Ballabh Rais of Ballabhī-pura", contained the ports of the Lāṭa (Larike) region on the gulf of Cambay. These ports were frequented by Arab trading vessels.<sup>8</sup> Somanātha was a famous harbour.<sup>9</sup> Alberuni refers to the Indian Ocean which forms the southern limit of India.<sup>10</sup> There are references to Kānījī (Kāncī),<sup>11</sup> Banavās,<sup>12</sup> (Vanavāsī), Tāna<sup>13</sup> (Thāna) and Bihroj<sup>14</sup> (Broach) situated on the sea-coast. He takes a keen interest in describing the coast-line along which were situated the famous towns of Somanātha, Kambayata, Bihroj (Broach), Sūbāra, (Sopāra) and Rāmsher (Rāmeśvara),-Setubandha,<sup>15</sup> which are

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1. Sk., VII. i. 336. 171(ii).
  2. Ibid., VII. i. 336. 170.
  3. Ibid., VII. ii. 12. 36(ii).
  4. Ibid., I. ii. 39; St Sk., I., p. 24ff.
  5. Agrawala V. S., VPS., p.28.
  6. MAI., p. 33; CAI., pp. 364-378.
  7. CAI., pp. 300-309.
  8. Elliot & Dowson, H. I., I. pp. 354-358.
  9. Alberuni's India, I, p. 205.
  10. Ibid., I, p. 198.
  11. Ibid., I. p. 200.
  12. Ibid., I, p. 202.
  13. Ibid., I. p. 203.
  14. Ibid., I, p. 205.
  15. Ibid., I, pp. 208-209.



also mentioned in the Skanda Purāṇa.<sup>1</sup> Other sources also speak of a number of ports on the east and west coasts of India.<sup>2</sup>

The commercial importance of the Velākūla is seen in the coastal forests producing many commodities of commercial value viz., cloves, black aloe-wood, sandal-wood etc.<sup>3</sup>

Due to these factors, 'velākūlani' played an important part in the commercial development of India. Skanda refers to the adoration of sea,<sup>4</sup> which is stated to be an abode of all the gems.<sup>5</sup> The eight islands besides the ninth, situated in the Indian Ocean, also played a very important role in the commercial and cultural history of India.<sup>6</sup> Thus India possessed many material resources which enriched the economic life of the country known as Vasundharā.

**Śrī - dhanah**—Another unique feature of the socio-economic life of ancient India is the worship of Lakṣmī or Śrī from the Vedic Age to this time. The terms Śrī and Lakṣmī represent wealth. Śrī is associated with **bhūti** i.e. material prosperity. In the Atharvaveda, Mother earth is invoked for the same purpose : श्रियां मा देहि भूत्याम् (12. 1. 6. 3). Śrī is identified with rāṣṭra and Aśvamedha (Śrīḥ .....rāṣṭram .....aśvamedha).<sup>7</sup> It is for this reason that Śrī representing the material prosperity of rāṣṭra is portrayed on the gold coins of the Guptas, exhibiting the earth or country as **śrī-dhanah**.

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1. St. Sk., I, pp. 104-130.

2. Lallanji Gopal, ELNI, pp. 147-152.

3. Jain, Harivamśa, LIV. p. 74.

Sk., VII. ii. 15. 9(ii)-10(i).

4. Ibid., V. iii. 218. 48-53; V. iii. 220. 26-28.

5. Ibid., V. iii. 218. 51(i); V. iii. 220. 30(i).

6. India and the world., pp. 45-60.

7. S. B., 13.2.9.2.



### (III) IMPORTANCE OF WEALTH (Vittam Sarvasāadhanam Ucyate)

Vidura, the Dharma-incarnate, was also well-versed in 'artha-tattva'.<sup>1</sup> Free from avarice and anger, Vidura represents a school of thought based on the equilibrium of dharma and artha.<sup>2</sup> Poverty is deprecated<sup>3</sup> and the importance of wealth is emphasized in the Mahābhārata.<sup>4</sup> "The popular conception that the Indian has turned his face away from material prosperity, with its quest for sterile gold, is erroneous in respect of ancient as well as modern times. Undoubtedly, the interdependence of Economics and Ethics has been a fundamental assumption in all Indian thought. It is also true that in periods of intellectual or moral reaction, the ineffectiveness of mere material goods for securing the primary ends of existence has been proclaimed. One might notice this particularly in the Upaniṣads and in the literature of the early Buddhist and Jain times. But the general attitude has always been to regard wealth not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. There cannot be a more significant exposition of this principle than that of Arjuna in the eighth chapter of the Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata. Here he dwells upon the importance of wealth for gaining all human ends and on the depressing influence of poverty. A student of economics might be able to quote a parallel to this from Marshall's 'Principles'. 'He that would live by mendicancy cannot by any act of his enjoy the good things of the earth'.<sup>5</sup> Arjuna observes : "What is here regarded as Dharma depends entirely on wealth. One who robs another of wealth robs him of his Dharma as well. Poverty is a state of sinfulness. All kinds of meritorious acts flow from the possession of wealth, as from wealth spring all religious acts, all pleasures and Heaven itself. O, King : Wealth brings about accession of wealth, as elephants capture elephants. Religious acts, pleasure, joy, courage, wrath and learning, all these proceed from wealth. Through wealth

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1. Ādi P., CV. 29.

2. Ibid., CVIII. 18-19.

cf. Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana, verse. 17.

3. Śānti Parva., VIII. 13-15, 18-23 (i), 24.

4. Ibid., VIII. 12, 16-17, 19-22, 23 (ii).

5. AIET., pp. 22-23



one's merit increases. He that has no wealth has neither this world nor the next. The man that has no wealth succeeds not in performing religious acts, for the latter spring from wealth like rivers from mountains. The learned have laid down that kings should live reciting every day the three Vedas, acquiring wealth and performing sacrifices with the wealth so acquired. As water flows in every direction from the swollen ocean, so wealth runs in every direction from the treasures of kings".<sup>1</sup>

Jain Mahāpurāṇa, which glorifies Dharma as the root of Trivarga,<sup>2</sup> refers to artha as the fruit of a tree which is dharma (dharma-tarorarthah phalaṁ).<sup>3</sup>

Bṛhaspati Sūtra also describes the importance of wealth and its acquisition : "Let him acquire wealth. Who so has store of wealth, has friends and righteousness and knowledge and merit and prowess and intelligence. By one without riches riches cannot be acquired, as an elephant by one without an elephant. In riches is rooted the world. And there in are all things. A man without riches is a dead man and a cāṇḍāla".<sup>4</sup>

The Viṣṇudharmottaraṁ also praises wealth in the absence of which all relations, even one's wife and friends, turn away their faces. Treasure is the root of a 'rājya-taru'. Hence wealth should be acquired but it should be obtained by fair means only and not by foul means.<sup>5</sup>

Viśakhadatta also observes, "For the sake of wealth sons kill their fathers, and fathers their sons like enemies, and friends give up their affection for friends".<sup>6</sup> Vākpatirāja also holds that "One whose wealth is lost, is deserted even by his wife".<sup>7</sup>

Skanda, too, asserts that there is no learning, knowledge, art, or

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1. AIET., P. 24.

2. Mahāpurāṇa, II. 31(ii)-36.

3. Ibid., II. 31(i): XXIV. 7(ii).

4. B. S., VI. 7-12.

5. VD., II. 61. 11-17.

6. MR., VI. 17.

7. GV., 953.



any other work which lies beyond the reach of wealth; here in this world, strangers become friends and relatives of a wealthy man because of the latter's riches and contrary to this, men turn away their faces like strangers from their own kith and kin due to their poverty. All actions and religious rites are performed by rich people with ease in the same way as rivers flow from the hills. Such is the power of wealth that by its possession low and detestable persons are venerated, and difficult and inaccessible objects are obtained. The limbs of an organism work, when it is fed; similarly wealth is the means of attaining all objects in this world. All life depends upon wealth for the sake of which people serve others, even perform many duties in burning grounds and desert their own parents.<sup>1</sup> Skanda adds : "Without money even the performance of religious rites is not possible" (artha hīne kutaḥ kriyā).<sup>2</sup>

A king protects his country from the attacks of enemies or from other dangers only when he possesses sufficient wealth. By means of financial strength alone a king can carry on a prolonged war. Thus the protection of a country depends on the economic strength of the state. The life of people depends on food and wealth.<sup>3</sup> Hence it was the duty of a ruler to look after the finance and labour,<sup>4</sup> agriculture,<sup>5</sup> vārtā,<sup>6</sup> trade<sup>7</sup> and arts and crafts.<sup>8</sup> "Let the king fix his abode in a district containing open plains, fit for cattle, and abounding in grain".<sup>9</sup> Let the king appoint able officials for the working of his mines, for

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1. Sk., VI. 155.43-48.

2. Ibid., IV. i. 40.26 (i).

Dakṣa Smṛti, III. 22(i).

3. VD., II. 61.7-10.

4. Sabhā Parva, V. 31-32.

5. Ibid., V. 78-79.

6. Ibid., V. 80.

7. Ibid., V. 115-116.

8. Ibid., V. 119.

9. Viṣṇu-Smṛti (SBE., Vol.VII), III.4. Edited by Jolly.

Cf. VD.II.26.1-3; Chapter, XXVI-XXVII of the Viṣṇudharmottaram (Section II) refer to grains, trees and animals etc., which were to be stored in the fort by a king for the protection of his country.



levying taxes and collecting fares to be paid at ferries, and for his elephants and forests,<sup>1</sup>.....skilled men for financial business.....<sup>2</sup> Thus the ruler and his government worked for the material well-being of the country and its people. It is evident from the Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta, that he wanted to appoint a suitable person as the governor of Saurāṣṭra, "who was capable both in the lawful acquisition of wealth, and also in its preservation when acquired, and further in causing it to increase when protected (and able) to dispense it on worthy objects, when it has been increased.....".<sup>3</sup>

#### (IV) ARTHAŚĀSTRA

Thus wealth, which was regarded as an important means of securing happiness became a subject of keen interest and study. Arthaśāstra was an important branch of learning in ancient India. Skanda refers to the persons who had acquired proficiency in Arthaśāstra.<sup>4</sup> Kausilya himself refers to the Arthasāstras composed by earlier teachers for the acquisition and protection of the earth.<sup>5</sup> The Mahāpurāṇa, a Jain work, also refers to an Arthaśāstra, a comprehensive work comprising long chapters, which was studied by Bharata.<sup>6</sup> There were several Arthasāstras.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Viṣṇu-Smṛti, III. 16.

2. Ibid., III. 18.

3. CII., III, p. 62 (No. 14)

Junagarh Rock Ins. of Skandagupta Line 8 (verse 10).

Cf. Matsya P., CCLXXIV. 1., (Calcutta Edn., CCIXXXIII.1).

Agni P., CCXXXVIII. 2.

4. Sk., IV. ii. 58. 77(i).

The eighteen branches of learning comprised the Arthaśāstram. Cf., Viṣṇu P., III. 6. 28-29, here prof. Wilson ascribes it to Vṛhaspati (Viṣṇu P. English Translation, p. 229).

Agni P., I. 15-17; CCCLXXXII. 60 (Gurumāṇḍala Edn., Calcutta). (CCCLXXXIII. 2-4, Chowkhamba Edn.).

5. KA., i. 1.

6. Mahāpurāṇa, I. xvi. 119.

7. Sk., IV. i. 7. 4 (ii).



## (V) ARTHA

"Artha is the sustenance or livelihood (vṛttiḥ) of men; in other words, it means the earth inhabited by men.....".<sup>1</sup> According to Kauṭilya Artha is the most important of the three human objectives. "Material well-being alone is supreme. For spiritual good and sensual pleasure depend on material well-being."<sup>2</sup> Thus artha, according to Kauṭilya, is vṛtti or livelihood.

The Garuḍa Purāṇa also lays stress on the importance of 'artha'. It is stated there in: "From accumulated wealth and augmented opulence proceed all acts, as rivers spring up from elevated mountains".<sup>3</sup> It is further mentioned: "This earth in whose bowels all gems are interred, food-grains, animals and women are called money (artha), because they are invariably connected with the gratification of desires (arthas)".<sup>4</sup> The Garuḍa P. adds: "A means of livelihood, which is absolutely not hostile to others or is slightly hostile to a (microscopic) minority, should be adopted by a Brahmana in times of peace".<sup>5</sup>

## (VI) CLASSIFICATION OF WEALTH

Various 'arthopārjana-karmas' i.e. means of earning money, are described in the Skanda Purāṇa, which maintains the sanctity of wealth acquired by fair means. Vṛttam (noble conduct) is to be preserved despite the loss of 'vittam' (wealth).<sup>6</sup> This spirit of 'āryatā'<sup>7</sup> runs through the entire range of ancient Indian thought. The Epics, Arthaśāstras, Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas eulogise the glory of 'svadharma' - one's own duty in the social hierarchy based on the occupational theory of Hindu society. It ultimately determined the nature of wealth acquired by a person. Consequently wealth has been classified

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1. KA., XV. i. 1-2.

Kangle R. P., KA., Pt. III, p. 1.

2. KA., I. i. 6-7.

3. Garuḍa P., I. 205.83.

4. Ibid., I. 205.84.

5. Ibid., I. 205.85.

6. Sk., VII. i.207.69.

7. Mbh. Udyoga Parva., XC.53(i).



into three categories viz., good, ordinary and bad. The classification of wealth is found in the different *smṛtis* and *Purāṇas*.

According to Manu, an old authority on the sacred law,<sup>1</sup> "There are seven lawful modes of acquiring property, (viz.) inheritance, finding or friendly donation, purchase, conquest, moneylending, earning by work, and the acceptance of gifts from virtuous men".<sup>2</sup> But in time of distress "learning, mechanical arts, work for wages, service, rearing cattle, traffic, agriculture, contentment (with little), alms, and receiving interest on money, are the ten modes of subsistence".<sup>3</sup> One's *dharma* determines one's occupation or means of living. Out of the six acts prescribed for a *Brahmaṇa*, "three are his means of subsistence viz., sacrificing for others, teaching and accepting gifts from pure men".<sup>4</sup> "Bearing of arms for striking and throwing is prescribed for *kṣatriyas* as a means of subsistence; to trade, (to rear) cattle, and agriculture for *Vaiśyas*".<sup>5</sup> *Śūdras* had to subsist by serving the other three *varṇas*.<sup>6</sup> Manu *Smṛti*, which describes various occupations and lawful means of acquiring wealth, does not mention the classification of wealth, which is found in the *smṛtis* of Viṣṇu and Nārada or in the *Purāṇas* viz., Viṣṇudharmottaraṃ, Garuḍa, and Skanda. According to the Garuḍa *Purāṇa* : "There are three kinds of wealth, white, brown and black, which may be again divided into seven classes. Possessions of all orders of society may be grouped under three heads such as, hereditary, obtained as presents of love or affection, and obtained as dowry with a wife. The three specific sources of wealth, in the case of a *Brahmaṇa*, are fees received for teaching and officiating as a priest at religious sacrifices, as well as gifts received from the pure and the holy. The three specific kinds of wealth (possessions) for a *kṣatriya* are money obtained in the shape of revenue, fines realised from persons convicted in law-courts, and that obtained by conquest. The three specific sources of wealth for a *Vaiśya* are agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade.

1. Laws of Manu (SBE., Vol. XXV, Oxford 1886), pp. CV-CXVIII.

2. Ibid., p. 426., X. 115.

3. Ibid., p. 427, X. 116.

4. Ibid., p. 419, X 75-76.

5. Ibid., pp. 419-420, X. 79.

6. Ibid., X. 121-123.



Favour obtained by service is the only source of income for a Śūdra".<sup>1</sup>

Thus according to the Garuḍa Purāṇa the different categories of wealth are :

- ( i ) hereditary (wealth),
- (ii) money obtained as presents of love or affection,
- (iii) and money obtained as dowry with a wife.

The three categories of wealth mentioned above are given as the possessions of all the varṇas.<sup>2</sup> Hence this group of wealth represents the 'sāmānyam dhanam'.

The other group of wealth is called 'vaiśeṣikam<sup>3</sup> dhanam' i.e. a specific possession with some characteristic attributes which are said to be three. The three specific sources of wealth prescribed for Brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas are : (A) in the case of a Brāhmaṇa:

- ( i ) yajñam i. e. the fee received for officiating as a priest,
- (ii) adhyāpanam i. e. money obtained by teaching; and
- (iii) viśuddhaśca pratigrahaḥ i. e. gifts received from the pure and the holy;<sup>4</sup>

(B) in the case of a Kṣatriya :

- ( i ) taxes i. e. revenue,
- (ii) fines; and
- (iti) acquisition by conquest;<sup>5</sup> and

(C) in the case of a Vaiśya :

- ( i ) agriculture,
- (ii) cattle-rearing, and
- (iii) trade.<sup>6</sup>

1. Garuḍa P., I. 205. 86-90

2. Ibid., I. 205. 87.

VD., III. 299. 18 (ii)-19 (i); Viṣṇu Smṛti, III. 9.

3. Garuḍa P., I. 205. 88-90, mentions here the 'vaiśeṣikam dhanam' of the four varṇas. Such two-fold classification of wealth viz., Sāmānyam and Vaiśeṣikam is not found in the Viṣṇudharmottaram, the Viṣṇusmṛti and in the Skanda Purāṇa.

4. Garuḍa P., I. 205. 87.

5. Ibid., I. 205. 88.

6. Ibid., I. 205. 89.



For Śūdras, the only specific source of income depended upon the favour of the three varṇas for the service rendered to them.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that the Garuḍa Purāṇa as well as Nārada Smṛti have developed and refined Manu's theory of seven lawful means of livelihood. Garuḍa, unlike the other works—Viṣṇudharmottaraṁ, Viṣṇusmṛti and Skanda Purāṇa—does not specify the three classes of wealth viz., Śuklam, Śabalaṁ and Kṛṣṇaṁ mentioned in its beginning.<sup>2</sup> Hence Garuḍa seems to have borrowed it from Nārada.

The Viṣṇudharmottaraṁ also refers to the three means of acquiring wealth viz., white (śuklam), spotted (śabalaṁ), and black (kṛṣṇaṁ),<sup>3</sup> based on the three qualities (guṇas) i.e. sattva, rajas and tamas.<sup>4</sup> Śuklam-dhanaṁ is the wealth acquired by the mode of livelihood prescribed for one's own class (or caste); the wealth obtained by following the functions of the next lower caste is called śabalaṁ and that acquired by following low pursuits is called kṛṣṇaṁ.<sup>5</sup>

Śuklam-dhanaṁ of all the varṇas according to the Viṣṇudharmottaraṁ<sup>6</sup> is the same as their 'vaiśeṣikaṁ dhanam' mentioned in the Garuḍa Purāṇa.<sup>7</sup> But the adjective 'viśuddhaḥ' associated with 'prati-grahaḥ' in the Garuḍa Purāṇa as well as in the Manu Smṛti<sup>8</sup> is not found in the Viṣṇudharmottaraṁ. According to the Viṣṇudharmottaraṁ Śabalaṁ dhanam' comprised the money acquired by means of arts and crafts and by usury or by the presents received in return for something done to somebody;<sup>9</sup> and kṛṣṇam (wealth) comprised the money obtained through service as an attendant, by gambling, theft, adventure or by fraud.<sup>10</sup>

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1. Garuḍa I. 205. 89 (ii).
  2. Ibid., I. 205-86.
  3. VD., III. 299.7.
  4. Ibid. III. 299.1-6.
  5. Ibid. III. 299.9-10(i); Viṣṇu Smṛti, III. 6-8.
  6. VD., III. 299.10(ii)-113.
  7. Garuḍa P., I. 205.88-90.
  8. Ibid., I. 205.88(ii).; Manu Smṛti, X. 76(ii); X. 115(ii).
  9. VD., III. 299.17(ii)-18(i).
  10. Ibid., III. 299.16(ii)-17(i); Viṣṇu Smṛti., III. 11.



But according to the *Viṣṇu-Smṛti* "What has been acquired as a bribe, as a fee (for crossing a river and the like or for a bride, etc.), or by the sale of forbidden articles (such as lac, or salt) or in return for a benefit conferred, is denoted 'mottled wealth' (*śabalaṁ*)".<sup>1</sup>

In the *Skanda Purāṇa* we find this classification at two places viz., Chapter 4 of the *Kumārikā-Khaṇḍa* (I. ii) and Chapter 205 of the *Prabhāsa-Khaṇḍa* (VII. i.). At both places there exists some difference in the lists of these three categories of wealth. This shows that these accounts were not written by a single hand. *Śukladhanaṁ* comprises money obtained for teaching the Vedas to a pupil; while the money obtained as dowry, or by money-lending, trade, agriculture and by begging is called *śabalaṁ* and the money obtained by gambling, theft, robbery, or fraud is called *kṛṣṇaṁ*.<sup>2</sup> But at another place *Skanda* states that the money obtained by money-lending, agriculture and trade is called *śuklaṁ* (*dhanaṁ*); where as the money acquired by means of arts and crafts as well as the money received as presents is called *śabalaṁ* (*dhanaṁ*) and the wealth acquired through adventure, bribery and fraud is called *kṛṣṇaṁ*.<sup>3</sup> Here it is evident that the classification of wealth at two places is not identical. In the first instance money-lending, agriculture and trade fall under the category of '*śabalaṁ*'<sup>4</sup> while in the second, these means of livelihood are called '*śuklaṁ*'.<sup>5</sup> This corresponds to the classification of wealth mentioned in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* and in the *Viṣṇudharmottaraṁ*. This difference of outlook regarding the nature of the means of livelihood indicates the two different periods in which the text of the *Skanda Purāṇa* seems to have been redacted.

The classification of wealth is based on the nature of the means

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1. *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, III. 10.  
Ibid., (SBE., Vol. VII), p. 190.
  2. *Sk.*, I.ii.4.4-5; N.K. Edn. text is incomplete and faulty. S.V. text has some confusion, but the note below the text by the editor explains it.
  3. Ibid., VII.i. 205. 20-21.
  4. Ibid., I. ii. 4.4(ii).
  5. Ibid., VII. i. 205.20 (i).



of its acquisition.<sup>4</sup> Money acquired by unfair and unjust means was deemed unfit for the purpose of śrāddham.<sup>2</sup> In the 'Dhanavicāra' chapter of the Viṣṇudharmottaram wealth acquired by right means is regarded to be full of sanctity (nyāyen tasmād dhanamarjanīyam).<sup>3</sup> This view is also supported by Manu who mentions seven legitimate means of acquiring wealth.<sup>4</sup> Similarly Skanda also describes seven kinds of śuklam dhanam:

śrutam śauryam tapaḥ kanyā śiṣyadyam cānvayā-gatam.  
dhanam saptavidham śuklam upāyopy asya tadṛśaḥ,<sup>5</sup>

Here we find that -

- ( i ) 'śrutam' (religious learning for which gifts are made ?)
- ( ii ) śauryam (bravery)
- (iii) tapaḥ (penance ?)
- (iv) kanyā (bride)
- ( v ) śiṣyat (teaching)
- (vi) yājyāt (sacrifice), as mentioned in the Nārada Smṛti - 'śiṣya-yājyānvayāgatam' (I.45a) in place of 'śiṣyadyam cānvayā-gatam' found in the Skanda Purāṇa.
- (vii) anvayāgatam (inheritance) were the best means of acquiring wealth.

Nārada Smṛti, which also regards wealth important as the basis of all activities.<sup>6</sup> classifies it into three broad divisions viz., Śuklam, Śabalam Kṛṣṇam and each of these is further divided into seven sub-divisions:<sup>7</sup>

**Seven types of Śukla-dhanam**—It comprises religious learning (for which gifts are made), bravery, penance, the dowry of a bride, teaching, sacrifice and inheritance :

śruta-śaurya-tapaḥ-kanyā-śiṣya-yājyānvayāgatam,

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1. Sk., VII. i. 205. 19 (ii).
  2. Ibid., VII. i. 205. 22.
  3. VD., III. 299. 20.
  4. Manu., X. 115 (cf. supra., p. 12).
  5. Sk., VII. i. 205. 19.
  6. Nārada Smṛti, I. 43.
  7. Ibid., I. 44.



dhanam saptavidha OMIC I, MIC LJ

45

Suklam granar-asya tadvidhaḥ.

Seven type Nārada I. 45.

lending, agriculture and this category comprises money-  
and crafts. The (uptial) fee (for a girl or  
return for something done for others :

Guptaśīlpanuvṛttibhiḥ,

l-trāṇa kṛtā śābalaṁ samudāhṛtaṁ.

Nārada, I. 46.

late trees of Kṛṣṇa-dhanam—The seven kinds of tainted money  
by bribery, gambling, bearing messages, robbery and fraud:

pāṭicadyānta-dautyārta-pratirūpaka-sāhasaiḥ,

tenoparjitam yac ca kṛṣṇam hi tad udāhṛtam.

Nārada. I. 47.

Nārada further classifies wealth into twelve types according to  
the varṇas. It describes wealth to be of two varieties  
violence. It describes wealth to be of two varieties  
agriculture and retail. The former category com-  
the Śūdras for namely inheritance, presents and dowry;  
of the śīśyas are comprises types of money earned by Brahmanas,  
re deals. castes abośīśyas in accordance their own prescribed functions.  
er assets. by himself the legitimate means of livelihood and money acquired.  
seeds and. The Śūtem was deemed to be unrighteous.<sup>1</sup> This classification  
of agric. the preceder given in the Garuḍa Purāṇa. It throws much light on

Ādi means of livelihood-legitimate and illegitimate-which were  
Sk. nt in the society. Thus Garuḍa rightly states that the ṛṣis have  
3. C. bed large number of means of livelihood (bahavo varttanopāya  
Jaiḥ parikīrtitah).<sup>2</sup>

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1. Nārada Smṛti, I. 50-55.

2. Garuḍa P., I. 205. 92 (i).



money acquired by honest means and unjust means was

those of śrāddhas. In the 'Dhanavicāra'

**Its importance**—The ancient wealth acquired by right means is re-  
valued. Purāṇas have taken even tasmād, dīya amarjaniyam.<sup>3</sup> This  
which represent the cultural belts. mention even legitimate means  
which the Āryans bealsee the ma. does seven kinds of  
Ārya is derived from the root 'kṛṣ' to cultivate and n  
soil..... Agriculture is the science of producing ā-gatam.  
and plants of all sorts by cultivating the soil, sowing, ṭṛṣaḥ,<sup>5</sup>  
watering etc. Thus this kind of production involves mainly  
then reaping in a larger quantity".<sup>2</sup>

It is obvious that agriculture holds an important place in the  
economy. It yields not only food to the people, but also revenue  
revenue to the state. Hence it was an important economic in-  
in the past.<sup>3</sup> Manu, however, observes "(Some) declare that - 'śiṣya-  
the virtuous; (for) the wooden (implement) with iron point canvayā-  
earth and (the beings) living in the earth".<sup>4</sup> Here agriculture  
to have been censured by a zealous votary of non-means of acquiring  
Purāṇa, a Jain work, maintains the importance of agriculture as one  
commerce.<sup>5</sup> Jain authors refer to agriculture as the basis  
of livelihood<sup>6</sup> and according to āgama agriculture is prokṭa.<sup>7</sup> It furthons viz., Śuklaṁ,  
tilling of the earth (kṛṣiḥ bhūmim, prokṭā).<sup>7</sup> It furthons viz., Śuklaṁ,  
king should encourage the act of cultivation by giving into seven sub-  
facilities to the farmers in his kingdom; for the increase

1. St. Sk., I. pp. 54-60.

2. EHC., p. 92.

3. VA., pp. 395-396; 459-460; 523-524.

AIU., pp. 595-599; CA., pp. 585-586; AIK., pp. 399-400;

SE., p. 516; J.U.P.H.S., Vol. XIII, July 1940, Pt. I, pp. 86-87.

EHAI., pp. 11-13, 50-52, 91-92, 138-140, 181; 231-232; 274.

Mbh. Śanti P., CCXXXVII. 7 (i).

4. Manu, X.83.

5. JHV., I. XIX. 19.

6. Ibid., I. ix. 35.

Ādi Purāṇa, XVI. 179-182.

7. Ibid., XVI. 181 (ii).



produce will enrich the state granary and treasury and ultimately it will strengthen his power by making the country rich and prosperous.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the stability and strength of the country depended upon its agricultural wealth. The gift of land abounding in agricultural crops was deemed to be an act of great merit.<sup>2</sup>

Gupta inscriptions relating to land-grants throw much light on land-transactions in that age. These land-grants show the popularity and importance of agriculture. "He who confiscates land rich in all (kinds of) grains (that has been granted)" is condemned.<sup>3</sup> The copper-plate grants also refer to the cultivation of land.<sup>4</sup> There are also reference to "aprahata (EI.15), uncultivated (land); same as 'khila'"<sup>5</sup> and astamb.....(EI. 23), 'land originally devoid of vegetation.....'.<sup>6</sup>

The observations of Yuan Chwang also describe the economic prosperity of the country in the middle of the seventh century A.D. According to this Chinese pilgrim "The fourth class is that of Śūdras or agriculturists; these toil at cultivating the soil and are industrious at sowing and reaping".<sup>7</sup> Here we notice that "our pilgrim..... makes the Śūdras farmers. But in Manu and in some Buddhist works the Vaiśyas are farmers, and the function of the Śūdras is to serve the three castes above them".<sup>8</sup> According to Alberuni "The Vaiśya is to occupy himself with agriculture, with the acquisition of cattle and with trade. The Śūdra is to endeavour to render services ..... to each of the preceding classes .....".<sup>9</sup> But Kauṭīlya and Ādi Purāṇa

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1. Ādi Purāṇa., XVI. 176 (ii)-180.
  2. Sk., V.iii. 51.55(i).
  3. CII, III, No. 26 (Karitalai Copper Plate Inscription of Mahārāja Jayanātha, Year 174 ( - 493 - 94 A.D.), Line 20.  
Cf. St. Sk., I, pp. 268-270.
  4. CII, III, No. 38, Line 29.  
Ibid., No. 39, Line 70.
  5. IEG., p. 26.
  6. Ibid., p. 32.
  7. Watters. I, p.168; Ādi Purāṇa, XVI.163(ii).
  8. Watters, I, p.169.
  9. A, I., I, p. 103.



refer to villages abounding in Śūdra-karṣakas<sup>1</sup> (Sudras as agriculturists).

“The early Arab writers of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. refer to the fertility of the soil and the rich cultivation, both of corn and fruits, specially in Western India with which they were particularly acquainted”.<sup>2</sup> The Skanda Purāṇa also describes the prosperity and richness of Western India comprising the famous countries of Ānartta,<sup>3</sup> Saurāṣṭra<sup>4</sup> and Lāṭa.<sup>5</sup>

Pāñcāla is mentioned as ‘subhikṣam-atulaṁ’<sup>6</sup>, which shows that it was also a prosperous country, as is borne out by the glory and greatness of Kānyakubja mahādeśa,<sup>7</sup> which under Bhoja became a great empire. Its prosperity is corroborated by the number of villages found in it.<sup>8</sup>

The Skanda Purāṇa states that “In the Kṛtayuga tilled earth produced abundant grains like rice, mudga and barley—tasteful, nourishing and invigorating;<sup>9</sup> in the Tretāyuga the farmers reaped seven harvests from a sown field;<sup>10</sup> and in the Dvāpara also a field yielded good produce of śasya;<sup>11</sup> but in the Kaliyuga, despite good rains, the earth did not produce the required crops.<sup>12</sup> Thus the Kali age is characterised by decrease in agricultural produce (alpasasyā ca medinī).<sup>13</sup>

1. KA., II. 1. 2.

2. AIK., p. 400.

3. SK., VI. 72.7 (cf. St. Sk., I, p.84).

4. St. Sk., I, p.87.

5. Sk., III. i. 34. 53 (ii).

cf. Mandasore Inscription of Kumārāgupta I and  
Bandhuvarman, Line 3.

6. Sk., II. vii. 15. 76 (i).

7. Ibid., VII. ii. 6. 141.

8. Ibid., I. ii. 39. 129 (ii).

9. Ibid., VI. 27. 17.

10. Ibid., VI. 27. 39.

11. Ibid., VI. 27. 60.

12. Ibid., VI. 27. 78.

13. Ibid., VII. iii. 10. 25 (ii).



Hence it is only proper that the Skanda Purāṇa lays stress on the importance of agriculture. It asserts that no wealth is equal to that of agriculture.<sup>1</sup> It is true that corn-food is the source of life of all creatures (annād bhavānti bhūtāni)<sup>2</sup> and so the entire (life or world) is rooted in food (sarvaṁ anne pratiṣṭhitam).<sup>3</sup>

**Irrigation**—In addition to the nature of the soil, the growth of crops depends upon water, which is specially necessary to fertilise the fields. It is evident from the expression—"sujalā dharitrī sasyaśālīnī".<sup>4</sup> The Skanda Purāṇa states that watered crops get a new life.<sup>5</sup> Irrigation depends upon rain-water, rivers, canals, wells and ponds etc. The rainy season (varṣakālāḥ) characterised by mud is mentioned.<sup>6</sup> In the winter when cultivation is still unfinished and when some farmers are still engaged in gathering grains, the rains cause trouble.<sup>7</sup> Similarly rainfall in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa destroys the crops.<sup>8</sup> But Parjanya (god of rain) is stated to be a source of pleasure to the janapadas, as he is the bestower of agricultural wealth (sasya-samṛddhidaḥ).<sup>9</sup> The rain falls on the ground from the clouds for sustaining the people.<sup>10</sup> It was well-known to Skanda that the sun causes rain which in turn causes the growth of crops.<sup>11</sup> Hence cultivators anxiously wait for the clouds day and night.<sup>12</sup> Clouds taking water from the sea rain it on the

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1. Sk., II. i. 17. 18 (ii); II. vii. 2. 2 (ii).
  2. Ibid., IV. i. 21. 78 (i); (Cf. Bh. G., III. 14.a).
  3. Ibid., V. iii. 56. 96.
  4. Ibid., VII. ii. 14. 8.
  5. Ibid., I. ii. 19. 20 (i).  
Ibid., V. ii. 79. 28 (ii).
  6. Ibid., II. vii. 5. 13.
  7. Ibid., II. vii. 5. 15.
  8. Divyāvadāna, 394/12.
  9. Sk., IV. i. 43. 104.
  10. Ibid., II. ii. 39. 23.
  11. Ibid., I. ii. 45. 14; V.ii. 21.78 - Sun is styled 'varitaskaraḥ'  
(Sk., VI.212.10). Ibid., VI. 90. 47 (ii); VII.i.24.90.
  12. Ibid., VI.216.125(ii)



earth so that crops grow to give subsistence to the people who perform sacrifices to propitiate the gods.<sup>1</sup>

But ill-timed (untimely) rains cause damage to the crops.<sup>2</sup> Similarly drought<sup>3</sup> also threatens the country which has to face a calamity.<sup>4</sup> People give up Vārtā, in times of drought, and migrate to other regions leaving their own lands.<sup>5</sup> Thus drought destroys the crops as well as the country and the people suffer from famine, misery and pain.<sup>6</sup>

Hence some artificial means of irrigation like dams, canals, and wells etc. are devised to meet the emergency caused by drought. Skanda refers to kulyās<sup>7</sup> (canals) which watered the crops for the preservation of the people. While dealing with 'Sasyāvatāra'-sūtra (LXXV), Aparājitapṛcchā, describes the water-reservoirs, wells, vāpīs and tanks etc. to meet the urgency caused by the failure of rains.<sup>8</sup>

**The Earth, Sun and Rain-water**—The growth of crops and plants is based on the union (co-operation) of the earth, sun<sup>9</sup> and rain-water.

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1. Sk., VI. 130. 59 (ii)-60; VII. i. 29. 66-67.  
cf. Brahmāṇḍa P., II. 22. 25-27 (i), 58 (ii).
  2. Sk., II. vii. 6. 16.
  3. Ibid., I. ii. 40. 219, 220, 266; II. ix. 9. 8, 9; VI. 37.7; VII. i. 129. 9.
  4. Ibid., I. ii. 40. 219, 220, 266; II. ix. 9. 8, 9; VI. 37.7; VII. i. 129. 9 (i).
  5. Ibid., I. ii. 40. 266(ii)-267, Kali-age is characterised by such conditions.
  6. Ibid., V. iii. 11. 80; VII. i. 255. 9-10 (i).  
Ibid., VII. iii. 9.24.
  7. Ibid., II. i. 30.7.

Here it appears that water of the river Suvarṇamukharī was carried to fields by means of canals in the North Arcot, District of South India.

8. Aparājitapṛcchā, LXXV. 28-41.
9. Sk., VII. i. 11.63-66.

The sun like a man has intercourse with the earth representing a woman who has bathed after menstruation, i.e. when she is fit for conception, and the water falling from the sky in the rainy season is held like garbhaṁ by the earth, which then produces corn for the maintenance of the whole universe. The earth, wife of the sun, is styled 'nikṣubhā' due to the cessation of hunger.



These represent three important forces—land, water and sun—which stimulate the growth of crops, an important source of livelihood for the whole world.<sup>1</sup>

**Moon, its lustre**—Elsewhere Skanda tells us that the lustre of Soma (moon) falling on the ground gives birth to plants,<sup>2</sup> which give pleasure (or support) to the world and all (four-fold) created beings.<sup>3</sup> Thus we see that the sun and the moon are important factors in the growth of crops and plants. The moon is known as the lord of 'bijaṣu adhis'.<sup>4</sup> (Cf. Bh. G., XV. 13)

**Fertility and Sanctity of Fields**—"The land is viewed in a two-fold division viz., cultivated and uncultivated. Uncultivated land was of two kinds, *ūṣara* or waste-land (Pāṇini, V. 2.107) and *gocara* or pasture-land (Pāṇini, III. 3.119). Cultivated or tilled land was known as *kṣetra*..... Synonymous with it was *kedāra*..... This term is not found in the earlier Brahmanical literature. In the *Arthaśāstra* *kedāra* denotes a wet field, and possibly it was distinguished from *kṣetra*..... The area brought under the plough was called *halya* and *sitya*. The word *sītā* is as old as the *R̥gveda* (IV. 57.6, 7) and is used in the later *Saṁhitās* also, where it variously signifies the personified deity of agriculture and also furrow. Gradually the former sense fell into disuse. In the *Arthaśāstra* *Sītā* retains its older meaning of the goddess of agriculture only in one place and there also it occurs in an old quotation; *Sītā me ṛdhyatām devī bijeṣu ca dhaneṣu ca*"<sup>5</sup> i.e. may the divine *Sītā* prosper in my seeds and in my grains".<sup>6</sup> The *Skanda Purāṇa* also praises *Sītā* as a goddess, the support and sustenance of cultivators (*karṣukāṇām yathā sītā bhūtanām dhāriṇī tathā*).<sup>7</sup> *Sītā* is also mentioned as a furrow made by the tilling of the soil with a plough (*sītā jāta lāṅgialasya iyaṁ bhūmi vikarṣaṇāt*);

1. Sk., VII, i. 11. 65.

2. Ibid., VII. i. 20. 60.

3. Ibid., VII. i. 20. 61(i).

Pr. Kh. (NK . XVIII. 61 (i).

4. Sk. VII. i. 20. 70.

5. Agrawal, V.S., J.U.P.H.S., XIII, Pt. I, July 1940, pp. 88-89.

6. KA., II. 24. 27.

7. Sk., VII. i. 165. 119 (i).



and she is said to represent Brahmayidya.<sup>1</sup> Hence Sītā was styled Ānvikṣikī and Maithilī.<sup>2</sup> It thus indicates the exalted character of Sītā, as a deity associated with 'bhūmivikarṣaṇam' or agriculture.

Janaka,<sup>3</sup> who obtained Sītā by cultivating the land, offered her to Viṣṇu (Rāma). Incidentally Ākaśarāja, son of Mitravarmā of Tuṇḍira-maṇḍala, also tilled the land with a plough. While sowing seeds in that field, he found a beautiful girl, called Padmāvatī,<sup>4</sup> who was married to Śrī-Nivāsa (Viṣṇu) in the same way as Sītā was married to Rāma in the past.<sup>5</sup> Here Sītā is stated to represent Lakṣmī (Sītārūpā abhaval lakṣmīr Janakasya mahīlāt).<sup>6</sup> As such Sītā, the goddess of wealth, deserved the prayers of the people desirous of wealth particularly by those who aspired for agricultural prosperity. A ploughed field is not to be defiled.<sup>7</sup> If a person desirous of obtaining success in agriculture chants prayers or spells called 'Lāṅgalāni', his field, despite the failure of rains, yields good produce.<sup>8</sup> Similarly if, during a period of drought, anyone chants a mantra called 'Pañcendram', the rains<sup>9</sup> come. Thus the observations made above show the importance of the

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1. Sk., I. i. 8. 105 (ii).
  2. Ibid., I. i. 8. 106.
  3. Ibid., I. i. 8. 105-108.
  4. Ibid., II. i. 3. 22-23.
  5. Ibid., II. i. Chap. 8.
  6. Ibid., II. i. 5. 19 (i).
  7. Ibid., III. ii. 5. 4 (i).
  8. Ibid., VI. 36. 27.
  9. Ibid., VI. 36. 29.

These mantras were to be chanted in the Citreśvara-pīṭha of Camatkarapura (Ānartta).

"Pañcendra, one who has the 5 Indrāṇīs as his deity (Pan. i, 2, 49; MWSED, p. 578). Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta also mentions 'Pañcendras' and on the pillar there are five standing naked figures identified as those of five Jain Tīrthaṅkaras (CII., Vol. III, p. 66). Pañcendras also mean five Indras. As Indra is the rain-god, the latter meaning appears to be nearer the truth as Skanda mentions them to be propitiated in times of drought.



fertility and the sanctity of an agricultural field. But good produce depended upon rains. Very often, in times of crisis as even today, the cultivators invoked the help of different deities for their success in agricultural operations.

They knew about the seasons and suitable time for different agricultural operations.<sup>1</sup> Sowing of seeds,<sup>2</sup> watering<sup>3</sup> of fields and reaping of the harvest were also known to the farmers.<sup>4</sup>

**Agricultural Operations**—Skanda refers to various agricultural operations. After tilling the land with a plough (*halena kṛṣyamāṇe dharātale*) some handfuls of seeds were sown (*bījamuṣṭim vikiratā*),<sup>5</sup> as is done today. Thus the agricultural operations included the ploughing of fields (*karṣaṇam*)<sup>6</sup> with a plough (*lāṅgala*<sup>7</sup> or *hala*).<sup>8</sup> The gift of a plough along with a yoke and tilled land to a Brāhmaṇa was considered to be an act of piety.<sup>9</sup> The plough was drawn by bullocks (*halaksamaṁ balivardam*).<sup>10</sup>

#### AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

**Crops**—"Crops, broadly speaking, are of two varieties 'kṛṣṭapacyāḥ' and 'akṛṣṭapacyāḥ'..... i.e. grown by cultivation and self-growing in the jungle like *nīvāra* etc. It is evident that an attempt to classify them further was made as shown by the names of crops according to their time of ripening.....".<sup>11</sup> Skanda also mentions land overgrown with natural crops.<sup>12</sup> Such wild products as *nīvāra*, vegetables, roots,

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1. Divyāvadāna, pp. 414/24-25; 415/20-29.

2. Sk., II. iv. 22. 30; II. iv. 23. 1.

3. Ibid., V. ii. 79. 28.

4. Ibid., VI. 27. 39 (i).

5. Ibid., II. i. 4. 22-23.

6. Ibid., II. vii. 5. 15.

7. Ibid., VII. iii. 10. 15 (ii).

8. Ibid., II. i. 4. 22 (ii).

9. Ibid., V. iii. 49. 47 (i).

10. Ibid., VII. ii. 13. 18 (i).

11. J.U.P.H.S., Vol. XIII, Pt. I, p. 99.

12. Sk., II. i. 4. 17.



and tila growing in forests are recommended for use in Śraddhas.<sup>1</sup> According to Skanda there are various kinds of fruits viz, dhātṛīphala (āmalak fruit), āmra (mangoes), cīrbhaṭa (a sort of cucumber), iṅguda, karīra, kapittha and such others.<sup>2</sup> Seasonal fruits and flowers<sup>3</sup> were also known. Tila, vṛīhi, priyaṅgu, godhūma (wheat), yava (barley), māsa, mudga, nīvāra, and śyāmāka are also mentioned<sup>4</sup>. Ṛṣi-dhānya is prescribed for performing śraddha.<sup>5</sup> Skanda gives lists of cultivated and wild grains. There is also a reference to 'kṛṣi siddhim ..... graiṣmikiṁ śāradīm api'<sup>6</sup> i.e. crops which ripen in summer and winter respectively.

Skanda gives seventeen annual plants which die after becoming ripe :

oṣadhyah phalapākāntah kaṇāḥ saptadaśa smṛtah.<sup>7</sup>

In the N.K. text there is 'śaṇāḥ'<sup>8</sup> in place of 'kaṇāḥ' and in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, it is 'gaṇāḥ'.<sup>9</sup> But 'śaṇāḥ' seems to be correct. "Kaiyaṭa attributes the quotation to an unknown Smṛti work. Probably the sūtra 'śaṇā saptadaśāni dhānyāni' belonged to a Dharmasūtra book. Mukuṭa in his commentary on Amara gives the list of 17 grains : vṛīhi, yava, masūra, godhūma, mudga māsa, tila, caṇaka, aṇu, priyaṅgu, kodava, makuṣṭaka, kaṭāya, kulattha, śaṇa, sarṣapa, and sīata"<sup>10</sup> The list of 17 cereals is also found in the Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Brahmanḍa and in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas.

1. Sk., VI. 20.11; Cf. VI. 32. 3.

2. Ibid., VI. 20 15-17.

3. Ibid., VI. 27. 39.

4. Ibid., VI. 221. 34 (ii)-36 (i).

5. Ibid., VII. iii. 6. 4.

6. Ibid., VI. 219. 8 (i).

7. Ibid., VII. i. 20. 61 (iv).

8. (N.K.) Prabhāsakhaṇḍa, XVIII.61(ii)

9. Mārkaṇḍeya P. (Jivanand Edn., Calcutta 1879), 49.67(i).

Ibid., (S.V.Edn.), 46.67(i). This edition reads 'śaṇāḥ', (46.69(i)), whereas the Calcutta Edn. reads 'gaṇāḥ' at both the places.

cf. Vayu, I.8.143 (ii); I.8.145 (ii); Bd., II. 7. 143 (ii); and II.7.145 (ii).

10. J.U.P.H.S., Vol.XIII, July 1940, Part I, p.106, Note 57.



These 17 kinds of grains are vṛhi (rice), yava (barley) godhūma (wheat), aṇu (a small grain),<sup>1</sup> tila (sesamum seeds) priyaṅgu (long pepper: saffron),<sup>2</sup> udāra (a short of grain with long stalks, perhaps a holcus,<sup>3</sup> kovidāra according to the Padma Purāṇa and koradūṣa according to the Viṣṇu P., Mārkaṇḍeya and Padma P.; kārūṣa according to Vāyu; koraduṣṭa according to Brahmanḍa, which is the same as kodravaḥ<sup>4</sup> (Paspalum kora),<sup>5</sup> satīnaka (a kind of pulse or pease; 'sacīnaka' according to the Mārkaṇḍeya, and 'śyāmaka' according to the Brahmanḍa. cīnaka, according to Prof. Wilson, is 'a sort of penic—P. miliaceum;')<sup>6</sup> maṣa (kidney bean, phaseolus radiatus); mudga (phaseolus mūnga), masūra (lentil, Ervum hirautilum); niṣpava (a sort of pulse, nīvāra according to Brahmanḍa),<sup>7</sup> kulattha (horsegram,<sup>8</sup> a kind of pulse,<sup>9</sup> dolichos biflorus,<sup>10</sup> 'kulathī), ādhakī (cytisis cajan,<sup>11</sup> 'arāhara'), caṇaka (chick pea, cicer arietinum); and śaṇa (crotonaria) or 'kaṇa' according to the Padma P. and the Skanda P.<sup>12</sup> "These are the kinds cultivated for domestic use".<sup>13</sup> The list of the seventeen cereals given in the Skanda Purāṇa<sup>14</sup> is almost the same as that of other Purāṇas—Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Brahmanḍa and Padma, These seventeen cereals belong to cultivated

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1. P.I., Vo.I, p.285.
  2. Ibid., p.285.
  3. Wilson, V.P., Note 7, p.41.
  4. SED., p.165. According to Prof.Dikshitara kārūṣa is 'a kind of sesamum (Pl., I, p. 285).
  5. Wilson, VP., p. 41, note 7.
  6. Ibid., p. 41, note 7.
  7. Ibid., p. 41, note 7.
  8. P. I., I, p. 285.
  9. SED., p. 155.
  10. Wilson, VP., p. 41, note. 7.
  11. Ibid., p. 41, note. 7.
  12. Sk., VII. i. 20. 62-64.  
Viṣṇu P., I. 6. 21-22. Padma P., V. 3. 137-138.  
Vāyu., I. 8. 144-145,  
Brahmanḍa P., II.7. 144-145.  
Mārkaṇḍeya P., 49.67-69.
  13. Wilson, VP., pp,40-41, note 7.
  14. Sk., VII.i.20.61(ii)-64(i).



type.<sup>1</sup> The Skanda Purāṇa as well as other similar works further give fourteen varieties of cultivated and wild grains, fit for use in a sacrifice viz., vṛihi, yava, godhūma, aṇu, tila, priyaṅgu, kulatthaka, (kulatthikā in Vāyu), śyā naka, nīvāra, jartila (tila in Mārkaṇḍeya), gave-dhuka, uruvinda (kuruvinda in Mārkaṇḍeya), markataka, and veṇuyava.<sup>2</sup>

While describing the economic life of the people of 'Gujarāt' Dr. A.K. Majumdar refers to the fertility of the soil of Gujarāt. He mentions a list of seventeen grains. "Hemacandra, however, in a quotation in his commentary to Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (IV.233) mentions seventeen kinds of grains..... The seventeen enumerated are—

- (1) "Vṛihi : rice that ripens during the rain."
- (2) "Yava : barley."
- (3) "Masūra : Lentil."
- (4) "Godhūma : Wheat."
- (5) "Mudga : kidney-been, Hindi mung."
- (6) "Maṣa : black-gram."

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1. Sk., VII. i. 20. 64 (ii).

Mārkaṇḍeya P., (SV.Edn.), 46.69(ii). Padma P., V.3.139(i).

2. Mārkaṇḍeya, 46.70-72; Brahmāṇḍa P., II.7.146(ii)-147 - corrupt and incomplete list.

Vāyu P., I.8.146(ii)-149(i).

Sk., VII.i.20.70-72.

Viṣṇu, I.6.23(ii)-26.

Padma P., V.3.139(ii)-142.

This account of Candrotipatti found in Chapter XX of the Skanda Purāṇa (VII.i.; Prabhasakhaṇḍa) is based on the Harivaṁśa account of Somotipatti (Chapter XXV, Harivaṁśa Parva). Skanda follows Harivaṁśa faithfully upto VII. i. 20. 60-61(i), which conforms to Harivaṁśa, I.25.16-17(i). Skanda has in addition some verses, VII.i.20.61(ii)-68 containing the lists of grains, which are not found in the Harivaṁśa Purāṇa. Skanda seems to have borrowed these lists of 17 and 14 grains from the earlier Purāṇas like the Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Mārkaṇḍeya. Mahāpurāṇa (Ādi purāṇa) written in the 9th century by Jināsena, a friend of king Amoghavarṣa (Winterstig, Ind. Lit., Vol.II, p.481) also gives an exhaustive list of grains.

Ādipurāṇa, III.186-188.

3. AK.Ch.G., p.256.



- (7) "Tila , sesamum."
- (8) "Chaṇaka : chick-pea."
- (9) Aṇava : great-millet (c.f. Aṇua, DN, I,52).
- (10) "Priyaṅgu : Italian millet."
- (11) "Kodrava : kodo-millet."
- (12) "Mayuṣṭhaka : Phaseolus aconitifolius."
- (13) "Śālī : rice harvested during autumn."
- (14) Ādhakī : pigeon-pea."
- (15) "Kūlattha : horse-gram."
- (16) "Kalaya : pea."
- (17) "Śaṇa : hemp."

Quoting this list Dr. Majumdar observes : "This list by Hemacandra probably represents a fairly accurate roll of the principal crops grown in "Gujarat during his time".<sup>1</sup> "In the Kurukṣetra and Delhi areas there must have been besides crops of wheat, sugarcane, rice, rājamaśa mudga, and cumin".<sup>2</sup>

There are minor changes in these lists, as can be noticed in the following table :—

S.No.	Viṣṇu and Padma	Vāyu P.	Brahmaṇḍa	Mārkaṇḍeya	Skanda P.
1.	vṛīhi	vṛīhi	...	vṛīhi	vṛīhi
2.	yava	yava	...	yava	yava
3.	māśa	māśa	...	...	...
4.	godhūma	godhūma	...	godhūma	godhūma
5.	aṇu	aṇu	...	aṇu	aṇu
6.	tila	tila	...	tila	tila

1. A. K. Ch. G., p. 258; These are famous Indian grains. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad mentions vṛīhi, yava, tīla, māśa, aṇu, priyaṅgu, godhūma, masūra khalva and Khalakula (kulathi). These are called ten 'grāmyāṇi dhānyāni' (Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. VI. 3. 13),
2. ECD., P. 298.



S.No.	Viṣṇu and Padma	Vayu P.	Brahmaṇḍa	Mārkaṇḍeya	Skanda P.
7.	priyaṅgu	priyaṅgu	...	priyaṅgu	priyaṅgu
8.	kulatthaka	kulatthaka	...	kulatthaka	kulatthaka
9.	śyāmaka	śyāmaka	śyāmaka	śyāmaka	śyāmaka
10.	nīvāra	nīvāra	nīvāra	nīvāra	nīvāra
11.	jarttila	jarttila	jarttila	jarttila	jarttila
12.	gavedhuka	gavedhuka	gavedhuka	gavedhuka	gavedhuka
13.	veṇuyava	kuruvindu	kuruvinda	kuruvinda	uruvinda
14.	markaṭaka	veṇuyava	veṇuyava	markaṭaka	markaṭaka
		markaṭaka	matīrkaṭaka	veṇuyava	veṇuyava

The list of the Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa is incomplete; Vayu contains names of 15 grains instead of 14 due to the addition of māṣa (No.3) also found in the list of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa; but it (māṣa) is not found in the other lists. The Vāyu, Mārkaṇḍeya and Brahmaṇḍa insert 'kuruvinda' (No.13) and the Skanda mentions uruvinda. It is apparent that Vāyu by taking māṣa from the Viṣṇu P. and Kuruvinda from the Mārkaṇḍeya raised the number of fifteen. The Mārkaṇḍeya and the Skanda do not contain the name of māṣa.

There are fourteen kinds of grains "which may be offered in a sacrifice; they are, rice, barley, māṣa, wheat, millet, and sesamum; priyaṅgu is the seventh, and kulatthā, pulse, the eight; the others are, śyāmaka, a sort of panic; nīvāra, uncultivated rice; jarttila, a wild sesamum; gavedhuka (coix); markata, wild penic; and (a plant called) the seed or barley of the bamboo (veṇuyava). These, cultivated or wild, are the fourteen grains that were grown for use in sacrifices;....."<sup>1</sup>

1. Wilson, VP., p. 41.



In addition to the lists of seventeen and fourteen kinds of cultivated or wild grains, there are references to seven grains,<sup>1</sup> the gift of which is regarded as a meritorious act.<sup>2</sup> Their names, however, are not given in our text. Yava<sup>3</sup> (barley), śali (rice), vṛhi, and tila,<sup>4</sup> or śali<sup>5</sup> have been associated with the performance of sacred rites.

Kauṭilya also mentions śali as different from vṛhi (*Oryza sativa*). Mr. Dutt, author of the *Materia Medica of the Hindus*, distinguished it as a crop harvested in the cold season, while vṛhi ripened in the rainy season. Vṛhi is a much older word used in the *Vajasaneyi Samhita* (XVIII. 12) and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (VI. 3. 13), as the first of cultivated grains, Patañjali mentions distinctive red variety of śali...<sup>6</sup>

Nivāra, a kind of rice growing wild, was fit for the performance of śrāddha.<sup>7</sup>

Skanda mentions a few other varieties of grains viz., kṛṣṇamāṣa, tila, yava, śali, mahāyava, vṛhiyava, and masūrīkā which are recommended for the performance of a śrāddha.<sup>8</sup>

The country of Uttara Kośala is said to have many fields of śali (rice) and sugarcane.<sup>9</sup> Pūrva Deśa (Eastern India) was also well-known for its śali (rice);<sup>10</sup> and Pāñcāla was noted for mudga.

1. Sk., I. ii. 50. 79 (ii); VII. ii. 15. 55 (ii) VII. iv. 15. 21. (i).

2. Ibid., VII. iv. 6. 20; Matsya P., 278. 7 (i) refers to 'aṣṭadaśa dhānyāni'.

3. Sk., VII., II. iv. 32. 24.

4. Ibid., VII. i. 166. 81 (ii); II. iv. 22. 24 (i).

5. Ibid., VII. iv. 15. 21 (ii).

6. J. U. P. H. S., Vol. XIII, 1940, Pt. I, pp. 101-102.

Śali fields formed the boundaries between the villages (Ādipurāṇa, IV 60 (i)). The cultivation of śali was very popular (Ādipurāṇa, IV. 61-62) particularly in the country of Yaudheyas called Bahudhānyaka (Yaśastilaka, I, p. 16).

7. Sk., VI. 20. 11.

8. Ibid., VII. i. 206. 82.

9. Jānakīharaṇa, X. 52 (i).

10. Jain, Harivaṃśa, I. 18. 161 (i).



Skanda also mentions different kinds of tila<sup>1</sup> viz., white, black and those resembling the colour of cow's urine.<sup>2</sup> Tila growing wild in the forest is recommended for use in a śrāddha.<sup>3</sup>

There is a list of grains which were to be avoided in the night (of Kṛṣṇaṣṭamī, when Mahākālī is to be worshipped at Mahāpīṭha in Prabhāsa kṣetra of Saurāṣṭra).<sup>4</sup> These are niṣpāva, ādhakī, mudga, māṣa, kulitthaka, masūra, rajamāṣa, godhūma, tripuṭa (a kind of pulse), caṇaka, vartala (a kind of pea) and makuṣṭha (phaseolus aconitifolius) etc.<sup>5</sup> Similarly niṣpāva, kulittha, and masūra are avoided in the month of Vaiśākha.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the grains mentioned above, there is a reference to śaṇa<sup>7</sup> (hemp).

Fields of sugar-cane (ikṣukṣetrāṇi)<sup>8</sup> are also mentioned. References to śarkarā<sup>9</sup> (sugar) and guḍa<sup>10</sup> also indicate the cultivation of sugar-cane. The reference to karpāsa,<sup>11</sup> indicate its cultivation. In view of such varied agricultural produce agriculture was rightly regarded as an important economic institution.

**Regional Products :** Rājaśekhara refers to regional products in the chapter on geography (Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, Ch. XVII). Itsing has also mentioned the characteristic products of the different regions, which he visited.<sup>12</sup> According to Mānasollāsa of Someśvara, a Pratihāra had to

1. Sk., II iv. 32. 24; V. iii. 26. 148.

2. Ibid., V. viii. 90. 95 (i); VII. i. 206. 83 (i).

3. Ibid., VI. 20. 11.

4. Ibid., i. 133. 1-4 (i).

5. Ibid., VII. i. 133. 4 (ii)-5.

6. Ibid., II. vii. 20. 8 (ii).

7. NK., Prabhāsa Kh., XVIII. 63 (ii).

8. Ibid., IV. i. 12. 53(i).

9. Ibid., VII. i. 25.28 (ii).

10. Ibid., VII. i. 28. 92 (ii), 93 (ii).

11. Ibid., II. ii. 40. 11; II. ii. 50. 79 (i); V. iii. 26. 147 (ii).

12. Cl. A., p. 592.



know about the products of the country (deśotpattiṁ ca vetti yaḥ).<sup>1</sup> It shows that knowledge of the regional products was possessed by many poets and princes. Some State functionaries like Pratihāras specially knew about the regional products.<sup>2</sup> The Skanda Purāṇa, too, contains some information about the regional products which is found scattered at different places. These are :

Parvatadeśīya.....śālabhañjika (Sk., IV. i. 13. 87).

Kāśmīra ( saffron, Kāśmīrodbhavaṁ ) and kuṅkuma are the famous products of Kāśmīra.<sup>3</sup>

Himācala (region) is also known as a treasure-house of gems (sarva-ratna nidhānaśca).<sup>4</sup> "That is to say that the Himālayas are rich in mineral wealth and flora lavishly bestowed on them by nature and extend from the eastern to the western sea".<sup>5</sup> The observations of Svāmī Praṇavānanda, the well-known Himalayan explorer, are supported by the Skanda Purāṇa which mentions Kailāsa to be rich in different metals, gems and trees.<sup>6</sup> Various kinds of trees laden with flowers and fruits<sup>7</sup> grow in this region. Aśvattha trees, grew abundantly in the valley of the river Candrabhāgā in the Himācala region,<sup>8</sup> where the

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1. Mānasollāsa, Viṁśati II, Adhyāya ii, verse 129 (ii)  
(Baroda, G. O. S. Edited by G. K. Shri Jondekar, M. A.,  
No. XXVIII, Vol. I. 1925).
  2. cf. Upāyana Parva of the Mahābhārata by Dr. Moti Chandra  
J. U. P. H. S., Vol. X VI, Pt. 11 (Dec., 1943), p. 9-"The importance  
of the Upāyana parva as it is a sub-section of the Sabha parva is  
further increased by the mention of the products of the individual  
countries whose representatives came to pay their tributes to the  
all-conquering Pāṇḍava brothers".
  3. Sk., I. iiiu. 7. 24 (ii).  
cf. KM., Chap. XVII, p. 94.  
St. Sk., pt. I. p. 67.
  4. Sk., V. ii. 67. 34 (i).
  5. Kailāsa Mānasarovara, p. 1, Note 1.
  6. Sk., VII. i. 3. 4-5.
  7. Ibid., VII. i. 31. 5-6, 13.
  8. Ibid., I. ii. 55. 68 (ii).



famous sage Pippalāda was born. Skanda refers to 'śuklaṁ kambalaṁ' (white blanket). A special variety of blankets known as Pāṇḍukambala (Pāṇini, IV. 2. 11) was made in Gāndhāra.<sup>1</sup>

Kāpiśāyanam,<sup>2</sup> a popular liquor made in Kāpiśa (Kafiristan), was also known to Pāṇini who mentions Kāpiśāyana-madhu.<sup>3</sup>

Kamboja<sup>4</sup> and Sindhu-deśa<sup>5</sup> were famous for their good breed of horses. There is a mention of Cāmpeya-dukūla,<sup>6</sup> famous cloth of Campā, (capital of Aṅga) and to 'Gauḍī tāmraghaṭī,<sup>7</sup> (copper vessel of Gauḍa) and to Kāliṅgam<sup>8</sup> (product of Kāliṅga), probably elephant.

Dākṣiṇātyam kāṁsyaṁ<sup>9</sup> and Cīnāmśuka<sup>10</sup> (China-cloth) have also been mentioned.

The Brāhmaṇas known as Cāturvidyās of Dharmāraṇya, also carried on agriculture,<sup>11</sup> which seems to have been popular in Western India comprising the provinces of Saurāṣṭra and Gujarat. Soma, lord of grains and plants, is associated with Prabhāsa. While giving an account of Soma's birth the Purāṇakāra has composed verses containing the list of grains, probably with a view to glorifying the economic prosperity of the region, which produced various grains.<sup>12</sup> The plains lying in the north of the sea into which the rivers Gomatī, Sarasvatī, Śābhramatī and Mahī fall contained fertile fields and here various types of

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1. J. U. P. H. S., Vol. XVI, Pt. I, p. 28.
  2. Sk., I. iiiu. 19. 57.
  3. PKB., p. 39.
  4. Sk., I. iiiu. 23. 1.
  5. Ibid., II. ii. 49. 30; II. viii. 5. 26 (i).  
Jātaka Pāli, II. 270/1.
  6. Sk., IV. i. 24. 39.
  7. Ibid., IV. i. 13. 86. (i).
  8. Ibid., II. vii. 20. 81 (i)-82 (i).
  9. Ibid., IV. i. 13. 86 (i).
  10. Ibid., II. ii. 11. 36.
  11. Ibid., III. ii. 39. 87. 300.
  12. A. K., Ch. G., p. 258, Dr. Majumdar thinks that this list of grains represents the principal crops of Gujarat.



trees grew.<sup>1</sup> The forest in the country of Ānartta was also full of trees laden with fruits.<sup>2</sup>

Kṛtasmara, a sacred hill in the Prabhasa Kṣetra near the sea-coast contained very useful plants and trees viz., candana (sandal), aguru, karpūra (camphor)<sup>3</sup> in addition to many kinds of fruit-trees and flower-plants. Different kinds of birds and beasts also lived on this beautiful hill.<sup>4</sup> It may be noted that the picture of Saurāṣṭra and Gujarat formed by the study of the Nāgara Khaṇḍa, and the Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa shows the prosperity of Western India. After the fall of the Gupta empire, the Maitrakas of Valabhi<sup>5</sup> re-established peace and security in this region and it stimulated great material development. "Agriculture appears to have been the chief occupation of the people under the Maitraka kings.....Saurāṣṭra was ranked among the most important provinces. Its importance lay mainly in the circumstance that it possessed splendid harbours to which flocked people from all quarters of the globe with their merchandise."<sup>6</sup> During the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Pratihāras and the Cālukyas, Saurāṣṭra, Kathiawar and Gujrat became prosperous provinces of India. This prosperity is seen in the famous cities of Bhṛgukaccha (Broach) comprising hundreds of prāsadas (temples),<sup>7</sup> Prabhāsa and Dvārakā.

In the reign of Bhoja I of Kanauj, when Saurāṣṭra formed a part of his empire, the Raivataka hill was full of many trees and animals.<sup>8</sup> The association of lions with this hill in Surāṣṭa-deś<sup>9</sup> deserves special notice, for even today this hilly forest is famous for its lions. The importance of this forest is also indicated by the appointment of a vanapāla.<sup>10</sup>

Raivataka vana contained many trees viz., vaṭa, udumbura, bilva,

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1. Sk., I. ii. 15. 58-60 (i).
  2. Ibid., VI. i. 5.
  3. Ibid., VII. i. 22. 2-7.
  4. Ibid., VII. i. 22. 8-10.
  5. Ibid., VII. i. 23. 128-131.
  6. AHS., p. 219.
  7. Ibid., V. iii. 182. 9.
  8. Sk., VII. ii. 6. 23.
  9. Ibid., VII. ii. 6. 127.
  10. Ibid., VII. ii. 6. 22, 28, 31.



sarja, arjuna, kadamba, palāśa, aśvattha, nimba, dhavāṭī, vāruṇī, śamī, kaṅkola, limba, bījapūrī, dāḍima, badarī, pūga, kadali, śallakī, tāla, hin-tāla, śirasa, bījaka, vaṁśa, khādira, ajagāsana, gāguccha, igudī, kora, veṅguda, brahmavṛkṣa, kurubaka, karañja. aṅkola, pāribhadra, kalam-ba, panasa, haridra, gaṅgaḍī, teṣuṇḍaka, śirīṣa, kharjūrī, karavaṇḍika, sevālī, śālmālī, śāla, madhūka, vibhītaka, haritakī, kaṭāha, karyāṣṭa, aṭarūṣaka, kapittha, rohiṇī, vetraka, madana-phala, nirguṇḍī, pātala, nandi-pādapa, lavaṅga, elā, lavalī, santāna, agaru, śrīkhaṇḍa, karpūra and kalpavṛkṣa etc.<sup>1</sup> In these various types of trees, pūga (the areca or betel-nut-tree), lavaṅga (clove plant), elā (cardamam plant), agaru (fragrant aloe tree), śrīkhaṇḍa (sandal-wood) and karpūra (camphor) deserve special notice as they yielded important commercial commodities.

The coastal region near Stambha-tīrtha (Khambayat,<sup>2</sup> Cambay) in the Mahīśagara was rich with an abundance of trees and shrubs.<sup>3</sup> Here on the bank of the river Mahī lay this great city.<sup>4</sup> Ships laden with merchandise sailed between Simhala (Ceylon) and Stambha-tīrtha (Cambay).<sup>5</sup> It shows the richness of the country blessed with material resources to which the river Mahī, the sea as well as the forest made a valuable contribution.

Mahī is also mentioned as the important river of Mālava,<sup>6</sup> which was also a prosperous country with Ujjayinī<sup>7</sup> as its capital. In this part of India, also, many rivers, hills and forests played a significant role in its economic life,

Pariyatra, 'the portion of the modern Vindhya range lying in the

1. Sk., VII. ii. 15. 1-10 (i).

Divyavadāna, 256/7 also refers to Raivataka mahavana.

2. Alberuni's India, I, p. 208.

3. Sk., I. ii. 39. 71.

4. Ibid., I. ii. 21. 219-221.

5. Ibid., I. ii. 39. 87-89 (i).

6. Ibid., I. ii. 13. 44.

7. Ibid., V. i. 36. 4-7; V. i. Chaps. 40-45.



west of Bhopal, together with the Aravalli mountains<sup>1</sup> was adorned with various plants, birds and ponds etc.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to Ujjayinī, Vaidīśapura<sup>3</sup> (modern Vidiśa in M. P.) was also a prosperous city of Mālavā.

Western India comprising Malavā, Saurāṣṭra and Gujarat during the rule of the Pratihāras, Paramāras and Cālukyas of Gujarat remained prosperous and this state of economic well-being is proved by the glorious state of Avanti, Nāgara-khaṇḍa and Prabhāsa khaṇḍa, which describe the mountains, rivers, sacred spots, cities, towns and villages of this region. "Throughout the period, Gujarat was rich and prosperous. Agricultural products were plentiful..... The fertility of Gujarat, particularly its luxuriant growth of cotton, drew much praise from foreign visitors. The methods of agriculture were the same as were in vogue fifty years ago. Vineyards were abundant and Hemacandra refers to no less than seventeen kinds of grain crops, among which were rice, pulses and wheat. Sugar-cane, indigo, cotton, pepper and ginger, the castor-oil plant and sesamum grew in profusion, while southern Lāṭa was well-known for its pine apples, pomegranates and oranges".<sup>4</sup>

The classification and enumeration of the various types of grains and plants—both cultivated and wild—shows the economic importance of natural vegetation. The list of wild and cultivated grains is followed by the observations relating to varied vegetation which comprised : *tṛṇa gulmalatā vīrudvallī guccādi koṭīśaḥ*, i. e. grass (reed, straw), a clump or cluster of trees (thicket), creepers, shrubs, creeping plants and groves of trees etc. Moon, their king, gives support and sustenance to the entire world.<sup>5</sup> Bhagavān Soma was crowned as king of these grains

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1. St. Ind. Ant., p. 115.

2. Sk., I. ii. 15. 38 (ii)-40.

3. Ibid., VI. 155. 31-32 (i).

4. Gl. G., Part II, p. 414.

c.f., Mandsor stone Inscription of Bandhuvarman  
and Kumargupta I. (M. E. 493 & 529), l. 3:

लाटविषयान्नगावृत्तशैलाज्जगति प्रथितशिल्पाः

Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta, verse 29.

5. Sk., VII. i. 20. 68.



and plants etc. by the Creator.<sup>1</sup> The Ṛgveda also refers to different types of 'oṣadhis' : Yāḥ phalinir yā aphalā apuṣpā yāśca puṣpiṇīḥ.<sup>2</sup>

The natural vegetation also played an important part in the religious life of ancient India. Skanda also emphasises the sanctity of natural vegetation when it refers to worship of plants and trees.<sup>3</sup>

It is stated in the Skanda Purāṇa that a village devoid of trees is of no use (vinā vṛkṣeṇa ko grāmo.)<sup>4</sup> It shows the importance of trees in the rural economy of India.

### (VIII) PAŚUPĀLANAM

The domestication of animals marks an important stage in the development of human civilization. India upholds the sanctity and importance of Paśupālanam by associating it with Lord Kṛṣṇa, an exalted herdsman—the saviour, and supporter of the cows (gocārī gopatir gopo Govardhanadharo).<sup>5</sup> Kṛṣṇa, brought up in the house of Nanda, a gopa, was devoted to cows, tending them with care.<sup>6</sup> He is specially eulogised as a son of a herdsman (vatsapālaka bālakaḥ,<sup>7</sup> gopa-

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1. Sk., VII. i. 20. 69-70.

2. Rv., X. 97. 10; cf. X. 97, which deals with plants and trees-vīrudha (shrubs) and vṛkṣa etc. "This Purāṇic conception of Soma is based on the Vedic account of Soma : "Soma must be the Moon, and the fact instantly occurs to us that in the mythology of the post-Vedic so-called 'epic' or classical period.....Soma has been .....the moon..... Its beams are woven of cool watery atoms which penetrate into the plants, refresh and vivify them... .....The Moon is King Soma, the food of gods". Ragozin, Vedic India, p. 177.

3. Sk., V. iii. 26. 128. 130.

4. Ibid., VII. iv. 39. 38 (ii).

5. Ibid., V. i. 63. 174.

6. Ibid., V. i. 63. 168-169; (cf., Viṣṇu Purāṇa, V, chaps. 6-25).

7. Ibid., V. i. 63. 170.



ḍāraka-dārakaḥ)<sup>1</sup> roaming on the banks of the Yamunā.<sup>2</sup> Kṛṣṇa is also mentioned as the defender of cows.<sup>3</sup>

Śiva is, too, famous by his epithet of Paśupati,<sup>4</sup> who figures in the Mohenjodaro seal surrounded by the animals.<sup>5</sup> Skanda praises Him in the form of different creatures viz., cow and calf (go-vatsa),<sup>6</sup> calf (vatsa),<sup>7</sup> elephant (gaja)<sup>8</sup> as well as fish (matsya),<sup>9</sup> pigeon (kapota)<sup>10</sup> and peacock (mayūra).<sup>11</sup> Snakes<sup>12</sup> are His ornaments. Bull (vṛṣa) is His associate and vehicle.<sup>13</sup> Dharma (Yama), too, assumed the form of a buffalo (mahiṣa).<sup>14</sup> Earth, itself, the basis of economic life, is represented by cow, which aptly symbolises the goddess of wealth (yā Lakṣmīḥ sarvabhūtānām).<sup>15</sup> Skanda tells us that animals along with the vegetation were created for the purpose of yajñas.<sup>16</sup> Godāna is eulogised as an act of piety.<sup>17</sup> Cows, elephants and horses (go, gaja and vāji), too, were given in gifts.<sup>18</sup> Elephants, camels, horses and bulls also constituted the bulk of army.<sup>19</sup> Thus evidently go-pālanam as well as paśupālanam have been rightly regarded as the mainstay of Indian economy.

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1. Sk., V. i. 63. 173.
  2. Ibid., V. i. 63. 172.
  3. Ibid., V. i. 63. 175.
  4. Ibid., V. i. 28. 38.
  5. V. A., p. 187.
  6. Sk., III. ii. 27. 2.
  7. Ibid., III. ii. 27. 12.
  8. Ibid., VII. i.<sup>2</sup> 304. 10; VII. i. 307. 28, 30, 42, 47, 50.
  9. Ibid., V. iii. 3. 25.
  10. Ibid., V. iii. 8. 49.
  11. Ibid., V. iii. 6. 9, 10.
  12. Ibid., V. ii. 35. 25.
  13. Ibid., II. i. 39. 5.
  14. Ibid., III. i. 25. 21, 22, 25.
  15. Ibid., IV. i. 2. 82.
  16. Ibid., IV. i. 40. 19.
  17. Ibid., II. i. 39. 17; II. i. 40. 16.
  18. Ibid., II. i. 39. 11.
  19. Ibid., VI. 167. 35.



Skanda refers to King Paśupāla, who was devoted to cattle-rearing.<sup>1</sup> He gave protection to the cattle-wealth against the thievish nature of Dasyus.<sup>2</sup>

**Classification of animals and birds :** All the created beings are divided into four types viz., Jarāyuja, Aṇḍaja, Udbhijja and Svedaja. Human beings and quadrupeds (animals) are called Jarāyuja (born from the womb); birds, fishes, tortoise and snakes are known as aṇḍaja (born from the egg); insects, bugs, louses, flies and mosquitoes are born of sweat (svedaja), whereas grass, trees, and plants, which are immovable, are styled udbhijjāḥ.<sup>3</sup>

Quadrupeds are also classified into domesticated animals (grāmyāḥ) and wild beasts living in the forests (āraṇyajāḥ).<sup>4</sup> There is also a reference to aquatic creatures (jalajān jīva-saṅghātān)<sup>5</sup> like fishes.<sup>6</sup> The fourteen types of created beings<sup>7</sup> comprised snakes (sarpajātiḥ), birds (pakṣijātiḥ), deers (mṛgasanjñāśca) and animals (paśvākhyāḥ).<sup>8</sup>

**Paśu-rakṣakāḥ :** Skanda refers to keepers of the different types of animals and birds along with the farmers (kṛṣibalaśca). These are:—

- Go-rakṣakas i. e. herdsmen
- Meṣa-rakṣaka i. e. shepherd
- Chāga-rakṣakas i. e. goat-herds.
- Uṣṭra-rakṣakas i. e. keepers of camels.
- Khara-rakṣakas i. e. keepers of mules.
- Kapi-rakṣakas i. e. keepers of monkeys.
- Vyāghra-rakṣakas i. e. keepers of tigers.

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1. Sk., V. ii. 63. 2.
  2. Ibid., V. ii. 63. 4-8.
  3. Ibid., VII. i. 32. 73-76; it is to be noted here that the Udbhijjas i. e. the plants and trees, are also counted among jīvas.  
Ibid., VII. iii. 36. 59.
  4. Ibid., VII. i. 32. 74 (ii).
  5. Ibid., VII. i. 29. 39.
  6. Ibid., VII. i. 29. 40.
  7. Ibid., VII. i. 23. 39, 42.
  8. Ibid., VII. i. 23. 40.



Śārdūla-rakṣakas i. e. keepers of lions.

Śakuṇta-pālas i. e. keepers of birds.<sup>1</sup>

All of them formed the retinue of Indradyumna, the king of Malavā. Skanda also refers to Ajāvikas (keepers of goats and sheep) and Māhiṣika (buffalo-keeper).<sup>2</sup> Thus, apparently, cattle-rearing was an important economic institution.

**Paṣu-rakṣaṇam**—Paṣu-pālyaṁ was also one of the 'svadharmas' of the Vaiśyas.<sup>3</sup> Skanda tells us that there was a Vaiśya living in the city of Camatkārapura (North Gujarat).<sup>4</sup> He was dumb and poor. Due to his poverty, he was engaged in tending the animals of all the people for the maintenance of his family and he was hardly contented with it,<sup>5</sup> as is shown by an incident. One of the cows, entrusted to him, went astray leaving the herd and he could not notice it.<sup>6</sup> But in the evening when the cow did not come back from the forest, its owner threatened the paśupālaka, saying either he had sold it off or he had concealed it somewhere. The paśupālaka, feeling frightened to hear the scolding, went to the forest in search of the cow, which he found the next morning. The poor fellow had been wandering in the forest for the whole night with stick in his hand.<sup>7</sup> Such incidents usually occur in the life of a paśupāla.

Skanda also refers to a Brāhmaṇa named Maṅkī. He was a Brāhmaṇa,<sup>8</sup> who was engaged in tending buffaloes of the people on the Arbuda hill, by means of which he earned some money.<sup>9</sup> With this money he purchased a pair of bullocks and a patch of land. But unfortunately the bulls were killed in an accident in course of their

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1. Sk., II. ii. 11. 21.
  2. Ibid., I. ii. 41. 71.
  3. Ibid., I. ii. 61. 20 (ii).
  4. Ibid., VI. 14. 2.
  5. Ibid., VI. 14. 3.
  6. Ibid., VI. 14. 4.
  7. Ibid., VI. 14. 8-13.
  8. Ibid., VII. iii. 25. 1-2.
  9. Ibid., VII. iii. 25. 3.



training. The loss was so heavy and unbearable, that Maṅkī retired to the forest leaving the village.<sup>1</sup>

**Utility of the animals**—Yāna and vāhana have their unique significance in the social and economic life. Horses, donkeys and camels<sup>2</sup> have been employed for such purposes. Horses were also yoked to yānas,<sup>3</sup> chariots<sup>4</sup> and śakaṭas.<sup>5</sup> Bulls are also used in the carts. Cattle also supplied diet in the forms of milk<sup>6</sup> and meat<sup>7</sup>. Cock (kukkuṭa),<sup>8</sup> as well as fishes, deers and birds<sup>9</sup> were killed for the sake of their meat.<sup>10</sup> Animals like 'go' and 'chāga' (goat) were also killed in the performance of yajñas and śrāddhas.

Swift horses,<sup>11</sup> horses of Sindhudeśa,<sup>12</sup> and Śyāmakarṇa horses<sup>13</sup> are mentioned. Elephants<sup>14</sup> were also held high in ancient India. Due to the importance of horses and elephants their proper care was taken to keep them healthy and strong. People proficient in Gaja-vāji-bhaiṣajya<sup>15</sup> i.e. medical treatment of elephants and horses were kept in royal courts.

#### (IX) VĀṆIJYAM (TRADE AND COMMERCE)

Vāṇijyam (trade) is stated to be an important means of livelihood.<sup>16</sup> There are some persons who praise agriculture, while others like Nanda-

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1. Sk., VII. iii. 25. 4-8.
  2. Ibid., II. ii. 11. 51(ii); (cf. Bhāgavata, V. 10. 1.)
  3. Ibid., VII. i. 33. 7.
  4. Ibid., II. ii. 11. 14, 64.
  5. Ibid., II. ii. 11. 75; V. ii. 68. 8.
  6. Ibid., VII. i. 206. 86 (i).
  7. Ibid., VII. i. 101. 30 (i).
  8. Ibid., V. ii. 21. 26.
  9. Ibid., I. i. 33. 5.
  10. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 20(ii)-22.
  11. Ibid., II. ii. 11. 64.
  12. Ibid., II. ii. 49. 30.
  13. Ibid., VII. i. 23. 12.
  14. Ibid., II. ii. 11. 14.
  15. Ibid., II. ii. 11. 17.
  - cf. Agni P., Chapters CCLXXXVII—CCXCI.
  16. Sk., VII. i. 207. 55.



bhadra do not accept it.<sup>1</sup> They praise the merits of *Vaṇijyaṁ* as a means of livelihood (*vaṇijyaṁ manyate śreṣṭhaṁ jīvanāya tada*).<sup>2</sup> But the traders should be fair and square in their enterprise. Nandabhadra is stated to have purchased wares from others devoid of fraud and falsehood (*amāyayā*). In the same manner he sold it to others without any dishonesty (*amāyayaiva*).<sup>3</sup> Thus Nandabhadra, inspired by piety and honesty, followed the vocation of trade and he was satisfied with only small profit.<sup>4</sup>

The civilisation depicted in the *Manu Smṛti* reflects upon "the highly developed trade by land and by sea".<sup>5</sup> Skanda also presents not only a flourishing condition of trade in the different parts of India, but it also exhibits an advanced state of maritime trade with *Dvīpantara*. Thus flourished in the age under review two-fold activities of trade (*vaṇijyaṁ svadeśa-paradeśajam*).<sup>6</sup>

(1) **Svadeśajam**—i. e. inland-trade between different parts of the country.

(2) **Paradeśajam**—i. e. foreign trade.

Siddhasena was a wealthy and pious merchant of *Ānartta*, who had a number of servants. Once he went to north in the company of merchants (*sārthēna samanvitah*) for the purpose of trading.<sup>7</sup> He arrived at *Maru-maṇḍala* devoid of people and plants. He was left alone by the *sārthas* (merchants) there.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Sk., I. ii. 45. 25.

2. Ibid., I. ii. 45. 8.

3. Ibid., I. ii. 45. 10(ii)-11(i).

4. Ibid., I.ii. 45. 10 (i).

5. The Laws of Manu (SBE, Vol. XXV, Oxford, 1886), Introduction, p. C1.

cf. Ibid., pp. 281-288 (VIII. 156-157).

6. Sk., VI. 243. 7 (ii); cf., YV. Smṛti, XX. 252; ELNI., chapters V-VII; EIE., chap. III.

7. Sk., VI. 65. 8-9.

8. Ibid., VI. 65. 10-14.



Skanda refers to a Brahmana named Dhaneśvara living in the city of Ujjayinī (Avantipura). He went from one country to another buying and selling till he reached the city of Mahiṣmatī.<sup>1</sup> He found there people of different countries and so he stayed there for a month selling his ware, for which he kept wandering daily along the river Narmadā.<sup>2</sup>

In the famous city of Prabhāsa beautiful lotus-flowers were sold in the streets (rathyaṣu), squares (catvareṣu) and 'trikas' (meeting place of three roads).<sup>3</sup> Similarly in the celebrated city of Ujjayinī the catvaras comprised the markets and stalls marked by the busy and bustling life based on sale and purchase.<sup>4</sup>

**Maritime-trade**—References to ships (mahat-pota,<sup>5</sup> pota,<sup>6</sup> jalayāna),<sup>7</sup> boats (nāu,<sup>8</sup> plava)<sup>9</sup> and rafts (udupa)<sup>10</sup> plying in the seas<sup>11</sup> are found in our text. Skanda exhibits its knowledge of shipwrecks.<sup>12</sup> It refers to sea-voyage to Campakāvati placed beyond the sea in Pātala.<sup>13</sup> Navy was an important unit of the army.<sup>14</sup> Thus the age of the Skanda Purāṇa was marked by the development of the maritime power, which led to the growth of trade and commerce with the countries beyond the seas.

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1. Sk., II. iv. 29. 3.
  2. Ibid., II. iv. 29. 5(ii)-6(i).
  3. Ibid., VII. i. 39. 31.
  4. Sk., V. i. 47. 16 (i).
  5. Ibid., V. iii. 3. 30.
  6. Ibid., V. iii. 3. 34, 35.
  7. Ibid., I. ii. 15. 5.
  8. Ibid., III. i. 2. 52.
  9. Ibid., III. i. 2. 51.
  10. Ibid., III. i. 2. 52.
  11. Ibid., III. i. 2. 51; III. ii. 1. 1.
  12. Ibid., I. ii. 42. 205 (i).
  13. Ibid., IV. ii. 82. 49, 60, 67; V. ii. 46. 46, 56, 62.  
St. Sk., Pt. I. p. 113.
  14. Sk., III. i. 2. 52.  
St. Sk., Pt. I, p. 259.



Skanda refers to a Vaiśya named Somaśarmā, son of Sukeśa. He entered into commercial partnership with his poor, but highly skilled, friend named Sahadeva. Somaśarmā told him that both of them would go to the other side of the coast (param-tīraṁ) by means of ships and boats laden with large amount of merchandise (bhāṇḍaṁ bahu samādaya) to earn money (dravyasādhane). The profit and prosperity was to be shared equally among them. Thus after deciding the terms and conditions, both of them started on their voyage across the Lavaṇodadhi. They obtained a large amount of gold and various jewels by selling their goods. They started on their boats to the homeland. In the way Sahadeva threw away Somaśarmā into the sea and got hold of the entire wealth.<sup>1</sup> Param-tīraṁ,<sup>2</sup> or 'param',<sup>3</sup> represents 'Param Param', 'Pāre Sindhu' or Palaesimund<sup>4</sup> (Ceylon), which had close cultural and commercial contact with India in the ancient times.

**Dvīpāntara**—Skanda asserts that hundreds of merchants go to Brahmottara spurred by the lucrative trade.<sup>5</sup> To India were brought comphor (karpūra), aguru, candana and many such commodities of different types from Dvīpāntara.<sup>6</sup>

Thus we find that trade and commerce, a source of great wealth,<sup>7</sup> was in developed state both by land and by sea during the age under review.<sup>8</sup>

**Paṇyam (Wares of Trade)**—Skanda refers to various articles of trade produced in the different countries (paṇanīyaṇi vastūni nāna deśodbhavāni) like horses, colts, valuable clothes of silk, jewels of diffe-

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1. Sk., V. iii. 209. 58-68.

2. Ibid., V. iii. 209. 62(i).

3. Ibid., V. iii. 209. 63(ii).

4. C. A. I., p. 312; Brahmaparivarta P., II. 62. 70(i) also refers to Laṅkā as Pāresamudraṁ; cf., India And The World, pp. 52-53, for its contact with Ceylon, St. Sk. pt. I, p. 51.

5. Sk., VII. i. 24. 74.

6. Ibid., VII. i. 24. 73.

7. Ibid., I. ii. 2. 95(i).

8. ELNI, Chapter V.



rent varieties, kupyam (sphaṭik vessels), cattle and valuable vessels of silver, and bronze etc.<sup>1</sup> Thus paṇyam comprised various articles required by the people in their social, religious and political life.

A merchant named Dhanañjaya went to market to fetch something to eat, and food comprised various types of fruits, and roots etc. Skanda refers to various kinds of fruits viz., aṅgūra (VII. i. 25. 26.—a grapes), āmra (VII. i. 165. 48-mango), āmalaka (VII. i. 165. 49-Emblic Myrobalan fruit āṇwālā-II. ii. 44. 6), akṣoḍa (VII. 165. i. 490) or akṣoṭa (VII. i. 166. 86-walnut, akharoṭa), kadali (III. i. 52. 181-banana), kaṅkola (II. v. 4. 36) II. v. 9. 24), kramuka, karamaṅgaka (II. ii. 44. 7a), karamardan (fruit of Carissa Carandas), kapittha (Feronia Elephantum-kaithā), karkaṭi (VII. i. 166. 85-kakaṭi), karbūra (VII. i. 165. 48), kūṣmaṇḍa (VII. i. 166. 85), kharjūra (VII. i. 165. 47), gr̥ṇjana (VII. iii. 29. 47-turnip), cirbhaṭa (VII. i. 165. 49-a variety of kakaṭi), jāṭiphala (II. ii. 44. 7), jambīra (VII. i. 25. 33; VII. i. 165. 49), jambūka (VII. i. 165. 48), tiṇḍuka (VII. i. 111. 19), dāḍima (VII. i. 166. 85), drākṣa (VII. i. 165. 48), nālikera (VII. i. 166. 85), or nārikela (VII. i. 25. 28-cocoa-nut), nāriṅga (VII. i. 166. 86), nāgaraṅga (II. ii. 44. 7), panasa (III. i. 52. 181), priyaṅgu (VII. iii. 3. 41), badāma (II. v. 9. 23), badara (VII. i. 111. 19), bilva (VII. i. 111. 19) VII. i. 165. 50), mocaphala (VII. i. 25-30-it was to be taken at night), rambhā (III. ii. 7. 76), śrīphala (II. ii. 44. 6).

Skanda refers to a fruit-seller (phala-vikreta).<sup>2</sup> It also mentions the sale of different articles viz., goats,<sup>3</sup> horses,<sup>4</sup> salt,<sup>5</sup> and meat.<sup>6</sup>

Ātma-vikraya or a dog's life (śva-vṛtti) was condemned. Business (vāñijya) based on truth and falsehood (satyaṅṛtam ca vāñijyam tena caivopajīvyate) may be carried on, but śva-vṛtti is unbearable and undesirable.<sup>7</sup> Wealth is to be acquired, but only through fair

1. Sk., IV. i. 32. 63-65.

2. Ibid., V. iii. 159. 25.

3. Ibid., I, ii. 51. 26,

4. Ibid., III. i. 36, 214; IV. i. 28. 20.

5. Ibid., IV. i. 28. 39.

6. Ibid., III. i. 9. 41. 44. 45.

7. Ibid., VII. i. 207. 55.



means,<sup>1</sup> based on dharma (arthān upārjya dharmēṇa).<sup>2</sup> Dhanañjaya, a vaṇika, earned money through fair means; he satisfied beggars by giving it to them in charity; his fame marked the roads; he worshipped Kṛṣṇa; and he was wealthy, polite and pious.<sup>3</sup>

**Coins :** Skanda exhibits its knowledge of the term 'vinimaya' (śreyo vinimayārjitā).<sup>4</sup> Though the term 'vinimaya' is not used here in the economic sense of the term. But the Puraṇakāra reflects our mind upon the commercial enterprise in the spiritual life as is evident from the similar statement of Uddhava, who observes 'Bhāratavarṣa is an exalted commercial country'.<sup>5</sup> Barter was prevalent in the earlier stage of civilization. Skanda refers to cowries (varātakas),<sup>6</sup> which are also mentioned in the inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> Sarṣapa (mustard seed) is also known to represent the lower unit of weight and money (dravyaṁ sarṣapa mātṛakam).<sup>8</sup> There are references to Suvarṇa,<sup>9</sup> Niṣka<sup>10</sup>, Māṣa or Māṣaka,<sup>11</sup> Suvarṇa-māṣaka,<sup>12</sup> and Ardha-māṣaka of the same variety.<sup>13</sup>

According to Kauṭilya "Eightyeight white mustard-seeds make one māṣaka of silver. Sixteen of these make one Dharaṇa, or twenty śimbā-beans".<sup>14</sup> Manu says that three of Likṣās are equal to one grain of black mustard (rājasarṣapa) and three of the latter to a white mustard-seed. Six grains of white mustard are one middle-sized barley-corn<sup>15</sup>.

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1. Sk., IV. i. 40. 25.
  2. Ibid., IV. i. 7. 6.
  3. Ibid., IV. i. 30. 24-25.
  4. Ibid., IV. i. '22. 50; here vinimaya is used in the sense of exchange.
  5. Brv., II. 94. 75-76.
  6. Sk., IV. i. 41. 25.
  7. Siyadoni Stone Ins. of the time of Devapāla, 1. 45. cf. CAI, p. 2.
  8. Sk., I. ii. 41. 76.
  9. Ibid., II. v. 8. 31; IV. ii. 53. 21; cf. KA., II. 19. 2, 8.
  10. Ibid., II. i. 10. 78.
  11. Ibid., I. ii. 44. 67-68.
  12. Ibid., I. ii. 44. 67.
  13. Ibid., VII. iv. 35. 20; cf., Puraṇam, VI. No 2, pp. 347-353.
  14. KA., II 19. 5-6.
  15. Manu, VIII. 133-134.



Thus we see that sarṣapa was an old unit of weight. Suvarṇa, Niṣka and Māṣaka are the well-known coins of ancient India, mentioned in the Smṛtis<sup>1</sup> and the Purāṇas. "The gold money of Northern India consisted of the Suvarṇa and the Niṣka".<sup>2</sup> Manu describes the "technical names of (certain quantities of) copper, silver, and gold, which are generally used for the purpose of business transactions among men".<sup>3</sup> Suvarṇa according to Manu, is equal to sixteen Māṣas<sup>4</sup> and four Suvarṇas are mentioned to be equal to a Niṣka.<sup>5</sup> "According to the Līlāvati 16 drammas are equal in value to a Niṣka, whereas a Karṣa (146.4 grains) of gold is called Suvarṇa".<sup>6</sup>

The fact that Māṣaka was a popular coin is supported by the rite of 'Tapta-māṣa'.<sup>7</sup> The Viṣṇu-Dharmottaram,<sup>8</sup> which describes it at length, also refers to Suvarṇa-Kṛṣṇala,<sup>9</sup> a gold coin of lower denomination, 1/5th of a māṣaka (5 Kṛṣṇalas = 1 Māṣa).<sup>10</sup>

**Weights and Measures**—Skanda refers to different weights and measures intended for different purposes. It mentions the following coin-measures;

palaṁ ca kuḍavaḥ prastha ādhako droṇa eva ca,  
dhānyamānena boddhavyaḥ kramaśomī caturguṇaḥ.<sup>11</sup>

i. e.	4 palas	=	1 kuḍava
	4 kuḍavas	=	1 prastha
	4 prasthas	=	1 ādhaka
	4 ādhakas	=	1 droṇa

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1. Viṣṇu Smṛti, IV. 1-14.
  2. Purāṇam, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 347-353 (Numismatic gleanings from the Purāṇas).
  3. CAL., p. 48.
  4. Manu., VIII. 134.
  5. Ibid., VIII. 134; KA., II. 19. 3.
  6. MANU, VIII. 137.
  7. ELNI., p. 209.
  8. Sk., I. ii. 44. 65-68; cf., Nārada Smṛti, I. 343-348.
  9. V. D., III. 328. 18, 73, 75.
  10. Ibid., III. 328. 10-18, 73-77(.).
  11. Ibid., II. 72. 2(i)



There are other references also to the *bhāra*,<sup>1</sup> *pala*,<sup>2</sup> *droṇa*,<sup>3</sup> and *karṣa*.<sup>4</sup> According to Manu<sup>5</sup> and Kauṭilya,<sup>6</sup> State paid special attention to weights and measures.

According to Kauṭilya, "A *bhāra* contains twenty *tulā*-weights.<sup>7</sup> A *pala* contains ten *dharāṇas*.<sup>8</sup> Two hundred *palas* of *māṣa*-beams make one *droṇa*.<sup>9</sup> Sixteen *māṣakas* of gold make one *suvarṇa* or *karṣa*. A *pala* is equivalent to four *karṣas*.<sup>10</sup> "Sixteen *māṣas* are 1 *suvarṇa*; but in weighing wheat or barley they reckon 4 *suvarṇas* = 1 *pala* and weighing water and oil they reckon 8 *suvarṇas* = 1 *pala*".<sup>11</sup>

Skanda mentions *tulā*<sup>12</sup> (balance). "The balances with which the Hindus weigh things are immovable, while the scales move on certain marks and lines. Therefore, the balance is called *tulā*".<sup>13</sup>

According to the Skanda Purāṇa different countries had different standards of measures (*yasmin deśe tu yan mānaṁ viśaye vā vicāritaṁ*).<sup>14</sup>

There are references to 'aṅgula',<sup>15</sup> 'hasta' (cubit),<sup>16</sup> 'dhanu',<sup>17</sup> 'gavyūti',<sup>18</sup> and 'yojana',<sup>9</sup> which represent measures of length. "Eight

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1. Sk., II. i. 20. 50; III. i. 21. 45; III. i. 26. 96; VII. i. 34. 113.
  2. Ibid., II. ii. 44. 67 (i).
  3. Ibid., II. i. 20. 48; V- ii 90. 96.
  4. Ibid., II. vi. 12. 42.
  5. Manu, VIII. 403.
  6. KA., II. 19. 1-42.
  7. Ibid., II. 19. 19.
  8. Ibid., II. 19. 20.
  9. Ibid., II. 19. 29.
  10. Ibid., II. 19. 3-4.
  11. A. I., I. p. 164.
  12. Sk., I. ii, 34. 90; I. ii. 44. 35.
  13. A. I., I. pp. 164-165.
  14. Sk., V. iii. 90. 97.
  15. Ibid., I. ii. 44. 6, 68, 70; II. v. 12. 43.
  16. Ibid., II. i. 20. 41(ii), 57(i), 59(ii).
  17. Ibid., II. i. 16. 7; VII. i. 60. 2.
  18. Ibid., I. ii. 4. 98.
  19. Ibid., I. ii. 6. 29, 33, 34 etc.



yava dhānyas make one aṅgula (finger) or the maximum width of the middle (part) of the middle finger of a middling man is an aṅgula" (KA., II. 20. 6-7). "Two spans (=24 aṅgulas) make an aratni (cubit), the hasta of Prajāpati". (KA., II. 20. 12). "One hundred and eight aṅgulas make a dhanus, measure for roads and city-walls....." (KA., II. 20. 19). "Two thousand dhanuses make a goruta and four gorutas make a yojana" (KA., II. 20. 25-26). A gavyūti is equal to 4000 daṇḍas or 2 krośas.<sup>1</sup>

**Trade-routes**—Skanda-refers to vaṇīmārga used by cattle, horses, and people (govājīnara-sevitam),<sup>2</sup> which led to Vaiśyanagara (Besnagara, M. P.).<sup>3</sup> It has been stated above that merchants travelled in the different parts of the country wandering from one place to the other engaged in trade. They visited the famous cities of Ujjayinī and Māhīśmatī.<sup>4</sup> While wandering from place to place on his business, a merchant is mentioned to have gone from Kasumapura (Pāṭaliputra) to Marumaṇḍala<sup>5</sup> (Marwar, Rājasthāna). Prabhāsa was connected by roads coming from the four quarters (caturdikṣu mārgāḥ).<sup>6</sup> Śrīpārvate, Śūrparaka (Sopara, District Thana, Mahārāshṭra), Prabhāsa and Gupta-kṣetra were connected by roads.<sup>7</sup> Prabhāsa was a great port on the western coast (Prabhāsa paścimodadhau).<sup>8</sup> Valabhī was also a great pattana (port) placed on Mahodadhi.<sup>9</sup> Viṭaṅkapura<sup>10</sup> was also a seaport, from where ships full of merchandise sailed for Dvīpāntara.<sup>11</sup>

Ships (rājapota) sailed on the sea between Sīṃhala (Ceylon) and Stambha-tīrtha (Cambay).<sup>12</sup> Sea-routes to Dvīpāntara and all other

1. MS.E.D., p. 351.

2. Sk., III. iii. 10. 30 (ii).

3. Ibid., III. iii. 10. 31.

4. Ibid., II. ii. 29. 3-6.

5. Ibid., VI. 177. 36-44.

6. Ibid., I. ii. 63. 56.

7. Ibid., I. ii. 63. 59-63 (i).

8. Ibid., I. ii. 45. 108.

9. Ibid., VII. i. 282. 1-3.

10. Ibid., VI. 76. 7.

11. K.S.S., XXV. 35; B.K.M., V. 210, p. 131; Sk.St., I, p. 125; I.W., p. 76.

12. Sk., I. ii. 39. 87-108.



islands (sarva-dvīpas)<sup>1</sup> were brisk, marked by the ships of adventurous merchants.

Despite risks in their enterprise, the traders were not deterred in their venture by distance and dangers :

nāty uccam meruśikharam nāti nīcam rasāṭalam,  
vyavasāyo sakṭā yasya nāsti dūre mahodadhiḥ.<sup>2</sup>

### (X) MONEY-LENDING IN THE EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA

While discussing the attitude towards money-lending Dr. Lallanji Gopal observes : "Referring to the stigma attached to usury Al-Birūnī observed that it is allowed only to the Śūdra .....".<sup>3</sup> He, however, believes that the caste-restriction was not so strictly respected. He also supports Lakṣmīdhara who quotes Bṛhaspati mentioning money-lending as the best means of livelihood for higher castes.<sup>4</sup> Thus the uncertainty towards the attitude towards the usury which Dr. Gopal wanted to discuss persists and he took no pains to deal with money-lending as an important economic institution of Ancient India. "Money-lending was an approved line of business. Among the seven modes of acquiring wealth, usury finds a place..... Usury also finds a place among the ten approved means of livelihood enumerated in Manu (X.116)".<sup>5</sup> The Garuḍa Purāṇa a work of the early Medieval India also maintains that kusīda (money-lending) was recognised as one of the ten means of livelihood,<sup>6</sup> which is stated to be the most important means of living.<sup>7</sup> But in the age of the Garuḍa Purāṇa, in addition to agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade (kṛṣi-gorakṣa-vāṇijyam),<sup>8</sup> the main functions of a Vaiśyas, kusīda or usury was also assigned to them as their

1. Sk., II. vii. 22. 53, 54; cf 'Sarvadvīpa-vāsibhiḥ' of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.
2. Ibid., V. ii. 63. 26; cf. Sārthavāha, p. 60.
3. ELNI., p. 172; A. I. II, p. 150 : "Only to the Śūdra is it allowed..."
4. ELNI., 172.
5. Ibid., p. 229.
6. Garuḍa P., I. 205. 97.
7. Ibid., I. 205. 92.
8. Ibid., I. 205. 9.



specific concern, where as a Śūdra was still yoked to the service of the other (higher) classes.<sup>1</sup>

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa mentions four-fold Vārtā comprising, agriculture, trade, cattle-breeding, and usury which were the functions of Vaiśyas.<sup>2</sup>

Thus money-lending (kusīda)<sup>3</sup> was also recognised as an important means of acquisition of wealth (kusīdahṛta vittena).<sup>4</sup> Maṇibhadra of Vidiśā, a money lender, was such a miser that he did not spend money either for his own purpose or for others, though he had amassed a large amount of wealth.<sup>5</sup> He carried on his business (vyavahāra-kriyāḥ) with lacs of money.<sup>6</sup> The Garuḍa Purāṇa praises it : "There are many means of livelihood, but usury thrives the best of them all. Unnatural seasons of drought, political disturbances, rats and other pests are the impediments to the successful practice of agriculture, but usury is bereft of them all. The thriving in usury does not cease in day or in night, in dark or light fortnight, nor in summer, winter or rains. The profit which traders gain by wandering in different countries, the moneylender acquires by remaining at his own place."<sup>7</sup>

### INDUSTRY

"Industry is merely an extension of the exploitation of the soil by using agricultural and mineral products on working on textile plants or wool from animals, silk from plants and insects, clay, metal and wood. For instance to make cloth out of the cotton supplied by agricultural operation is known as textile industry".<sup>8</sup> Different indus-

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1. Sk., I 96. 28.
  2. Bhāgavata, X. 24. 20 (ii)—21.
  3. Sk., II. vii. 21. 6.
  4. Ibid., VI. 155. 35.
  5. Ibid., VI. 155. 34-37.
  6. Ibid., VI. 156. 18. 21.
  7. Garuḍa P., I. 205. 92-94.
  8. Elements of H. C., pp. 94-95.



tries flourished from very ancient times and Skanda evinces the development of many industrial arts and crafts.

Skanda mentions different types of cloth viz., karpāsa (cloth made of cotton), kṣauma<sup>1</sup> (woven silk) and kauśeya<sup>2</sup> (silk). The references to 'citra-vastra'<sup>3</sup> (printed-cloth) and "sūkṣma-vastra"<sup>4</sup> (fine cloth) are also found in the Skanda Purāṇa. Campeya-dukūla,<sup>5</sup> the silken cloth made at Campā, the ancient capital of Aṅga (Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts) deserves special notice as Bhagalpur is still famous for its silk. Cīnāmśuka<sup>6</sup> (the Chinese silk) is also mentioned. Blankets<sup>7</sup> have also been mentioned. These scattered references found in our text indicate the weaving of cotton, silk and wool. According to Kauṭilya fibrous garments were manufactured in Magadha (south Bihar), Pauṇḍra (Barendrabhūmi) and Subarṇakuḍḍya (near Kāmarūpa, MM. Hara Prasad Śāstrī would identify it with Karṇasubarṇa which includes Murshidabad and Rajmahal. (Sahitya Parishad Patrika, 1322, B. S., p. 249). And of these that produced in the country of Subarṇakuḍḍya was the best. These cloths made from fibres derived from the bark of trees were called Khauma (a little coarse) while the finer ones were called dukūla. Bengal was famous for the manufacture of these fabrics".<sup>8</sup>

There are references to 'sūtra,' 'taṇtu.'<sup>9</sup> and 'paṭa.'<sup>10</sup> While dealing with the duties of Sūtrādhyakṣa, Kauṭilya describes different kinds of cloth manufactured in the country. Sūtrādhyakṣa was to get yarn spun from wool, bark-fibre, cotton, hemp and flax by women. There were different factories for weaving different types of cloth. It shows the development of the textile industry in ancient India.

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1. Sk., II. ii. 40. 11.
  2. Ibid., V. i. 5. 20 (ii).
  3. Ibid., II. iv. 36. 19 (i); IV. i. 32. 63, (ii); VII. i. 34. 6(i).
  4. Ibid., II. vii. 3, 19 (i).
  5. Ibid., IV. i. 24. 39.
  6. Ibid., II. ii. 11, 36; (cf., India And China., p. 198.
  7. Sk., II. vii. 3. 16(i), 18(i); IV. i. 4. 99. (i); VII. iv. 6. 45(ii).
  8. EHAI., p. 146.
  9. Sk., IV. ii. 100. 127(i); VII. iii. 22. 22. (i).
  10. KA., II. 23. 1-10.



**Oil Industry :** The references to different types of oil<sup>1</sup> shows the development of oil-industry. There are references to 'Kausumbha-tela', 'atasītela', and 'tila-tela'.<sup>2</sup>

Skanda refers to cakrī<sup>3</sup> (an oilman), The commentator explains it to mean 'tailapīḍanayantram'<sup>4</sup> (or oil grinding machine).

**Liquor Industry :** Skanda refers to eight<sup>5</sup> as well as eleven types of 'madya' (ekādaśavidhaṁ madyaṁ) and three kinds of 'surā'.<sup>6</sup> Dhvaja<sup>7</sup> i.e. a tavern or surāṇiṣṭhānālaya i. e. place where liquor was prepared, is also mentioned.

**Salt Industry :** Skanda observes that one should himself prepare the salt (svayaṁ ca kṛtaṁ lavaṇaṁ).<sup>8</sup> It was also sold in the market.<sup>9</sup>

**Sugar Industry :** Skanda refers to cane (ikṣu-daṇḍa),<sup>10</sup> out of which is made śarkarā<sup>11</sup> (sugar) and khaṇḍa<sup>12</sup> (a variety of sugar). There is also a reference to sugarcane fields (ikṣu-kṣetrāṇi).<sup>13</sup> Ikṣu-daṇḍas were pressed in a machine (ikṣuvad yaṇtra-pīḍitaḥ).<sup>14</sup>

**Metal Industry :** Skanda mentions gold-mines.<sup>15</sup> There are references to different metals, of which gold is the most valuable.<sup>16</sup>

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1. Sk., II. ii. 17. 33; II. v. 9. 16. 23; VII. ii. 17. 33; VII. iv. 6. 45.
  2. Ibid., I. i. 13. 43-46.
  3. Ibid., V. ii. 81. 72(i).
  4. Ibid., Foot note 1.
  5. Ibid., V. i. 30. 43(ii).
  6. Ibid., II. ix. 5, 29.
  7. Ibid., V. ii. 81. 72; Foot-note 2.
  8. Ibid., IV. i. 41. 6.
  9. Ibid., III. iii. 16. 57.
  10. Ibid., II. vii. 20. 76.
  11. Ibid., V. iii. 95. 10; VII. i. 28. 92; VII. i. 165. 50.
  12. Ibid., V. iii. 90. 79.
  13. Ibid., IV. i. 12. 53.
  14. Ibid., III. i. 30. 23.
  15. Ibid., II. viii. 4. 63-66.
  16. Ibid., IV. i. 35. 48.



Vessels<sup>1</sup> of different metals viz., iron,<sup>2</sup> gold, silver copper, and bronze (kāṁśya)<sup>3</sup> etc. were manufactured. Metallic images like those of gold<sup>4</sup> and a copper-lamp<sup>5</sup> are also mentioned. Vastrāpatha-kṣetra comprised the mines of jewels and metals.<sup>6</sup> It was gifted with gold-mines.<sup>7</sup>

There are references to wood-workers or carpenters working in wood.<sup>8</sup> The timber was employed in the construction of buildings and pillars;<sup>9</sup> and many articles of furniture viz., śibika (palanquin), paryāṅka (couch), dipikā-darpaṇāsana and pāduka (wooden-sandals)<sup>10</sup> were made of wood.

The use of milk,<sup>11</sup> curd,<sup>12</sup> 'takra',<sup>13</sup> and 'ghṛta'<sup>14</sup> represent the growth of dairy-farming.

The references to kaṭa,<sup>15</sup> (mat), tāṛṇa-kaṭa<sup>16</sup> (straw-mat, a mat made of ṛṇa)<sup>17</sup> as well as veṇu-pātra,<sup>18</sup> and vaṁśapātra<sup>19</sup> indicate the development of cottage industries.

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1. Sk., II. ii. 17. 52, 53, 55.
  2. Ibid., IV. i. 40. 112.
  3. Ibid., II. v. 3. 55; VII. i. 206. 24, 111.
  4. Ibid., II. ii. 44. 23.
  5. Ibid., II. ii. 39. 63.
  6. Ibid., VII. ii. 3. 7.
  7. Ibid., VII. ii. 4. 4.
  8. Ibid., VII. i. 106. 20.
  9. Ibid., VI. 135. 32., 34-35.
  10. Ibid., IV, i<sup>2</sup> 3. 11. 13.
  11. Ibid., V. iii. 8. 3.
  12. Ibid., VII. i. 28. 93.
  13. Ibid., VII. i. 206. 56.
  14. Ibid., II. iv. 10. 25; VII. ii. 13. 25.
  15. Ibid., II. vii. 20. 75; (the Bhāgavata P., I. 3. 18-ii, refers to 'kaṭakṛt' of weaver of mats).
  16. Sk., II. vii. 3. 13; (the Bhāgavata P., I, 3. 18-ii mentions एरका which is निर्ग्रथितृणम् as is explained by the commentator Śrīdhara).
  17. Sk., VI. 112. 26.
  18. Ibid., VII, i. 206. 24.
  19. Ibid., VII. i. 166. 82.



Muktā-maṇi is stated to be produced out of vaṇśalata (veṇuvana .....yatra vaṇśa-lata garbhāj jāto muktāmaṇiḥ)<sup>1</sup>

The development of industrial arts and crafts<sup>2</sup> is also reflected by the organisation of trade-guilds comprising names of various trades and crafts.

## XII. ARTS AND CRAFTS

There is reference to a Brāhmaṇa skilled in different arts and crafts,<sup>3</sup> and the commentator refers to sixtyfour arts which constituted all the arts and crafts, mentioned in the Śaiva tantra, Śrīdhara-Svāmin the celebrated commentator of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, has given the list of these sixtyfour arts in his commentary on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.<sup>4</sup> The Skanda Purāṇa also refers to a princess who was skilled in the sixtyfour arts (Catuṣṣaṣṭi kalāyuktā),<sup>5</sup> which are not mentioned in our text. Thus we find that men and women were skilled in the different arts and crafts.

The growth of trade was accompanied by the development of industry and craft. In current literature, we get a list of the sixtyfour arts and crafts which were held in high esteem in that age. They were (1) vocal music (gīta), (2) instrumental music (vādyā), (3) dancing (nṛtya), (4) painting (ālekhyā), (5) decorating the face with floral designs, (6) making designs with rice and flowers....., (7) making beds of flowers....., (8) colouring the teeth, clothes, and powdering the body....., (9) making mosaic floors, (10) dressing the beds, (11) playing music upon cups full of water, (12) playing in water by throwing it on others, (13) knowledge of erotic practices, (14) making garlands, (15) making chaplets for the forehead, (16) sartorial and toilet art, (17) making the earrings, (18) making scents, (19) wearing ornaments, (20), jugglery, (21) knowledge of erotic devices, (22) sleight-of-hand, (23), culinary arts, (24) wine-bibing and preparation of juices

1. Sk., I. iiiu, 2. 62.

2. AIHC., pp. 13-15.

3. Sk., IV. ii. 56. 41. (ii)..

4. Bhāgavata, X. 45. 36.

5. Sk., V. ii. 61. 5.



and drinks, (25) knitting and embroidery, (26) puppet-show, (27) playing on lyre and tom-tom, (28) solving of riddles, (29) knowledge of the composition of rhymes, so that the last word, uttered by one, becomes the first, to be said by the other, (30) composition of conundrums, (31) recitation, (32) acting and story-telling, (33) filling the blanks in verses, (34) knitting chair and beds, (35) ironing the clothes, (36) carpentry, (37) architecture, (38) examination of coins and gems, (39) metallurgy, (40) chromology and lapidary, (41) botany and plantlore, (42) ram-butts and cock-fights, (43) training the parrots and 'mainas' (sārikah) to speak, (44) massaging the feet and hands and oiling the hair, (45) writing and deciphering the cypher, (46) proficiency in foreign languages, (47) knowledge of dialects, (48) making carts of flowers, (49) astrology, (50) mechanics, (51) knowledge of things, causes, and qualities, (52) memorizing, (53) composing poetry on the spur of the moment, (54) lexicography, (55) poetics, (56) versification, (57) fancy-dresses and disguises, (58) wearing torn clothes so that the gaps are hidden, (59) gambling, (60) interesting pranks, (61) making toys for children, (62) courtesy, (63) how to win others, and (64) exercises."<sup>1</sup> Dr. P. K. Acharya has also discussed the entire list of these arts (67 in number),<sup>2</sup> with his observations that "Barely one-fourth of the whole list can be called fine arts, which are meant only for mere culture and amusement, while others are really useful and productive arts both materially and culturally..... even an ordinary dancing girl .....when trained in these arts rises to the status of a courtesan ..... As regards princesses and daughters of high officials.....when they become widows and deprived of their wealth they can honourably earn their livelihood even in another country. A man who is skilful artist..... proves a pleasant companion everywhere.....Prosperity follows him in all places and at all times"<sup>3</sup>

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1. AIHC, pp. 14-15, vide Kāmasūtra of Vatsyana I, 3, 16; Śabdakalpadrumaḥ, II, p 58; HAIA, pp. 1-3; Mānasāra, vol. VII, p. III. Bhāgavata P., X. 45. 36, with the commentary of Śrīdharaśvāmin Viṣṇu P., V. 21. 22.; Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇuparva, 33. 6.
  2. HAIA., pp. 5-17.
  3. Ibid., pp. 18-19, cf., Kāmasūtra, Chapter III.



The **Rāmāyaṇa** also refers to śilpivargaḥ<sup>1</sup> comprising many workers,<sup>2</sup> and artisans.<sup>3</sup>

**Harṣacarita** of Bāṇa mentions many such persons adept in the different arts and crafts, who had gained proficiency in their specialised field of occupations. They were friends of Bāṇa viz., "poets and panegyrists—a vernacular poet (bhaṣākaviḥ), a snake-doctor (jāṅgulikaḥ—gāruḍikaḥ), a betel-bearer (tāmbūladāyakaḥ), a young physician, a reader (pustaka-vācakaḥ; cf. no. 31 above : recitation or pustakavācanam), a goldsmith (kalādaḥ), a supervisor (hairikaḥ, a scribe (lekhaḥ), a painter (citrakṛta), a modeller (pustakṛta : lepyakāra, 'the word may perhaps mean a scribe'), a drummer (mārdāṅgikaḥ), two singers (gāyanau), a maid (sairandhrī), two pipers (vāṃśīkau), a music-teacher (gāndharvo-pādhyāyakaḥ), a shampooer (saṃvāhika), a dancer (lāsaka-yuvā), a dicer (ākṣikaḥ), a gamester (kitavaḥ), a young actor (śailālī-yuvā), dancing girl (nartakī), a story-teller (kathakaḥ), a magician (mantra-sādhakaḥ), a treasure-seeker (Asuravivaravyasani : pātālbhilaṣī, perhaps it means a miner or metallurgists'), 'an assayer' (dhātuvaḍavid : rasa-vādajñaḥ, probably a mineralogist, cf. No 39 of the list), a potter (dārdurikaḥ), a juggler (aindrajaḷikaḥ, cf., No 20 of the list) and others."<sup>4</sup>

The **Mṛcchakaṭikam** mentions many courtesans proficient in the different arts.<sup>5</sup>

The social and economic life of a country centred round these functionaries skilled in the different arts and crafts. Bāṇa tells us that thousands of such artisans were summoned by the emperor Prabhākara-Vardhana to carry out the preparations for the marriage of his daughter. Bāṇa observes : From every country were summoned companies of skilled artists :.....leather-workers, troubadours, carpenters, workmen with

1. R., II, 79. 17.

2. Ibid., II, 80. 1-3.

3. Ibid., II, 83. 12-16.

4. Harṣacarita (Ed. Fuhrer, Bombay 1909), I, pp. 66-67.

Ibid., Cowell & Thomas (Eng. trans.) I, pp. 32-32.

5. MK., I. 42; II, p. 156.



brushes and plaster pails for whitening the street-wall, astrologers, gold-workers, plasterers, painters and modellers.<sup>1</sup>

The Skanda Purāṇa mentions 'gaṇakah,<sup>2</sup> jāṅgulikaḥ,<sup>3</sup> aindrajalikaḥ,<sup>4</sup> vijñāni,<sup>5</sup> and dhātuvādi, who are also mentioned by Bāṇa. The Jāṅgulika is styled viśavidyā-viśaradaḥ i.e. a physician who is a specialist in viśavidyā. According to Śaṅkarārya a jāṅgulikaḥ is a gārūḍikaḥ i.e. a specialist in Gārūḍīvidyā.

Thh sixtyfour yoginīs are stated to have assumed various forms viz. those of

1. sairandhrī,
2. mālākāra-vadhūḥ,
3. nāpita-sundarī,
4. sūtikarma-vicārajñā,
5. bhaiṣjya-kovidā,
6. vaiśyā (kraya-vikraya caṅcura),
7. vyālagrahiṇī,
8. dāsī,
9. dhātṛī,
10. nṛtyakuśalā,
11. gāna-viśaradā,
12. veṇu-vādajñā,
13. viṇādhara,
14. mṛdaṅga-vādanajñā,
15. tāla-kalāvati,
16. kārmaṇa-tattvajñā,
17. mauktika-guṃphika,

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1. HC., (Cowell & Thomas), IV, pp. 123-124.

Harṣacaritaṃ, IV., pp. 200-201.

2. Sk. IV. i. 46. 15.

3. Ibid., IV. i. 46. 17 (ii).

4. Ibid., IV. i. 46. 18 (ii).

5. Ibid., IV. i. 46. 20 (ii).



18. gandhabhāga-vidhijñā,
19. akṣa-kalālayā,
20. ālapollāsa-kuśalā,
21. catvara-cārīṇī,
22. varṣādhirohaṇa dakṣā,
23. rajjumargeṇa cetarā (dakṣā),
24. vātula-ceṣṭā,
25. pathi-civara-veṣṭanā,
26. apatyadā to those who had no children,
27. karāṅghri-rhkhāṇām lakṣaṇāni (sāmudrikoktani) ciketi (i. e. sāmudrikā),
28. citralekhana-naipuṇyā (painter),
29. janamanoharā (a courtesan ?),
30. vaśīkaraṇa-mantrajñā,
31. gulikasiddhidā,
32. aṇjana-siddhidā,
33. dhātuvāda-vidagdhā.
34. pādukasiddhidā,
35. proficient in agni-stambham,
36. proficient in jala-stambham,
37. proficient in vak-stambham,
38. proficient in khecarītvam,
39. proficient in adṛśyatvam,
40. proficient in ākarṣaṇī-siddhim,
41. proficient in uccaṭanam.
42. yuvacitta-vimohinī
43. cintitārtha-pradā and,
44. jyotiḥ-kalāvati,

The yoginīs assumed these different forms of ladies practising various crafts,<sup>1</sup> in the famous city of Kāśī where such ladies were to be found.<sup>2</sup> "Ancient Indian society acknowledged the profession of gaṇikas

1. Sk., IV. ii. 45. 4-17.

2. Motichandra, Kāśī Ka Itihāsa, pp. 91-93, 159, 160.



or courtesans as an institution. Kings' courtesans enjoyed a social status in their courts on account of their high accomplishments. They were proficient in the arts of singing, acting and playing on musical instruments and also expert in attracting the mind of rich people by their charm (cf., Nos., 19, 82). Some of them were fully possessed of the art of wiles for infatuating their lovers. In the 'Gaṇikādhyaṅga' chapter (II. 27) of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra we get an idea of the profession of these harlots who enjoyed a status fully recognised by the administration which through the adhyakṣas or superintendents, could determine their earnings, inheritance, income, expenditure and their future prospects in their profession and also realised some particular taxes from them".<sup>1</sup> The list mentions exclusively 'feminine arts',<sup>2</sup> some of which were also taught by the ladies skilled in them (cf., Nos. 25-27). We find references to "peasant women compelled to perform for the village headman unpaid work of various kinds, ...clearing or decorating his residence, working in his fields, and spinning yarn.....for his clothes."<sup>3</sup> There are similar references to women skilled in different arts and crafts who had been engaged by nobles and even by courtesans as maids<sup>4</sup> (paricarikāḥ).<sup>5</sup> The mother of Viśvakarmā is stated to be a yoginī (yogasiddhā).<sup>6</sup> Thus the connection of the yoginis with different arts and crafts is not insignificant. Vaiśyā (No 6) is stated to be engaged in trade (kraya vikraya-cañcurā).<sup>7</sup> The professions of mālākārā (no 2, a garland maker), nāpita (no 3, a barber), dāsī (no 8, a maid), dhātṛī (no 9, a nurse), and sairandhrī (no 1, a female attendant) are well-known to us. Similarly bhaiśajya-kovidā (no. 5) represents a lady-doctor. Nrtyakuśalā (no 10,) a dancer, gānaviśārada (no 11, a singer), veṇu-vādajñā (no. 12, a piper, flute-player), viṇādhara (no. 13, a lutanist),

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1. R. G. Basak, Mahāvastu Avadānaṁ, I, pp. XXVIII-XXIX.

2. HAIA., p. 18.

3. ELNI., p. 28.

4. Matsya P., CXXX 1. 9; Bmd., III. 27-1—

5. Bmd. III. 27. 10 (i); BMV. II, p. 237. JMV., II, p. 163.

The leading courtesan Śyāmā of Vārāṇasi had plenty of female and male slaves and hirelings".

6. Ibid., I. 15/18.

7. Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela, line 5.



mṛdaṅga-vādanajñā (no. 14, a drummer), and tālakalāvati (no. 15, skilled in beating time in music or proficient in a musical instrument made of bell-metal (cf., Raghuvamśa, IX. 71 : tālaiḥ vādyaprabhedaiḥ), are associated with music which had unique significance in the social and economic life of the country. Akṣakalālayā (no. 19, skilled in the game of dice-gambling), kārmaṇa-tattvajñā (no. 16, a magician), mauktika-gumhikā (no. 17, a female who prepares pearl-necklaces), karaṅghri-rekhānām lakṣaṇāni ciketi (no. 27, a palmist), citralekhana-naipūṇyā (no. 28, a painter) and jyotiḥ-kalāvati (no. 44, a female astronomer) were also famous occupations. Janamanoharā (no. 29), and yuvacitta-vimohinī (no. 42) appear to represent courtesans.<sup>1</sup> Varṇśa-dhiraṇam (no. 22) seems to be a game (cf., caṇḍālavarṇśa-ahopana)<sup>2</sup> and similarly, rajjūmārgaṇa (dakṣā, no. 23) represents another game where the lady walks on a rope. The others are not well known occupations, but most of the remaining crafts are related to the demonstration of supernatural powers by magical charms or some marvellous skill<sup>3</sup> (cf., nos. 30-41). This list of yoginis in her myriad forms reflects upon the environment of Kāśī—an atmosphere of grace, charm and music—in which even the goddesses enjoyed the pleasure in the city of prosperity and culture based on commerce, crafts, music and merriment.

Another episode, associated with the biography of Viśvakarmā<sup>4</sup> exhibits the importance of Kāśī as an important centre of commerce and arts, Viśvakarmā was favoured by Śiva who bestowed upon the former the knowledge relating to all the arts and crafts associated with metals like gold etc, wood, stone, gems, flowers, clothes, scents, roots, fruits, and skin (hide or leather) etc. He could accomplish everything associated with all the arts and crafts viz., architecture, sculpture, painting, music, nepathya-racanā as well as the knowledge of Indrajāliki

1. JMV., II, pp. 163-164 ft. śyāma-jātaka Mṛcchakatikam I. 42; II. I, 16,
2. Pali English Dictionary (P. T. S.), p. 590.
3. Devībhāgavata P., VIII. 20. 11-12, refers to Sarmā, the Sakraduti, who was proficient in 'mantras', and 'siddhis' are associated with the goddess (cf., Bmd-P., IV. 19. 3-6, IV. 36. 50-54)
4. Sk., IV. ii. chapter 86.



vidyā.<sup>1</sup> Thus, it is true that all the arts and crafts, which owe their origin to Viśvakarmā, are sources of livelihood for human beings.<sup>2</sup> The teaching of such arts and crafts was deemed to be an act of piety.<sup>3</sup> It shows the importance of studying these various arts and crafts.

### XIII. GUILDS

"The growth of crafts and professions is manifest from the fact that their number had immensely swollen in this period. Traditionally the number of professions was eighteen and, corresponding to them, there were as many guilds. But, in this age, their number had gone up many times."<sup>4</sup> The Samskṛt Buddhist works—*Divyāvadāna*, *Avadānaśataka*, *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara*, *Saundarananda*, *Saddharmapundarika*—mention numerous arts and crafts.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to know that there occur two nearly parallel passages in the *Mahāvastu* (III. 112-114, and III. 442-43) wherein we have a list of various artisans, craftsmen, and guilds of tradesmen and manufacturers living in India of the times. They are mentioned as accompanying....king Śuddhodana of Kapilavastu and the Magadhan king Bimbisāra of Rājagṛha.....The two kings proceeded to greet the Lord in the company of all sorts of their subjects—people including the Brahmanas and the house-holders, all the parties of musicians (*gāndharvikas*), all workers on arts and crafts (*śilpayatana*) and the trading and commercial guilds or corporations (*śrenis*), headed by their chiefs, the Śreṣṭhins, and the Sārthavaṇa."<sup>6</sup>

"In India from very ancient times trade and commerce have been carried on through guilds (*śrenis*),"<sup>7</sup> which are mentioned in

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1. Sk., IV. ii. 86.74-83.
  2. Viṣṇu P., I. 15. 119-121.
  3. V. Dh., III. 303. 8(ii)—9, 12, 15.
  4. AIHC., p. 15. ft.
  5. SBBJ., pp. 206-210.
  6. R. G. Basak, MV. I., Introduction, pp., XXXV-XXXVI, for lists cf. pp. XXXVI-XXL. SMV., III, p. III/20.
  7. CII., IV, p. CL XIX.



literature and inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The **Mahāvastu** refers to eighteen guilds of Mathura<sup>2</sup>, Kampilla,<sup>3</sup> (capital of the Pāñcāla janapada), Rājagṛha<sup>4</sup> and Kapilavastu,<sup>5</sup> Traditionally, the number of professions was eighteen and, corresponding to them, there were as many guilds. But, in this age, their number had gone up many times. In the Buddhist Sanskrit text, Mahāvastu, which received its final form in the fourth century,<sup>6</sup> we get..... long lists" while discussing these lists (which are not given here for want of space),<sup>7</sup> Dr. Buddha Prakash observes that "The goodwill of the guilds was an asset to the kings ..... Their reputation in financial matters was so high that people deposited money with them for specific purpose..... The guilds had their distinctive insignia, flags and seals.<sup>8</sup> From Rajghat (Vārāṇasī) have come the seals of some guilds."<sup>9</sup>

The **Purāṇas** also contain references to guilds to which Pṛthu (Ādirāja) paid respects.<sup>10</sup> The **Agni Purāṇa** defines śreṇī as an union of artisans and craftsmen of the same class or of the similar trade and profession (kāruḥ śilpī saṁhataistairdvayoḥ śreṇiḥ sajātibhiḥ).<sup>11</sup> The **Viṣṇudharmottaram** mentions 'kulāni śreṇayaśca gaṇāśca'<sup>12</sup> i. e. corporations, guilds and 'gaṇas' (gaṇa = any assemblage or association of men formed for the attainment of the same aims").<sup>13</sup>

As it has been mentioned above, the traders and merchants

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1. Buddhist India, pp., 57-60; SBBJ., pp. 211-212; AIHC., pp. 15-17; EIE., pp. 85-89.  
Rāmayaṇa, II. 105. 11.; CII, vol. III, pp. 70, 71, 84, 85, 86.
  2. SMV., III, p. 392/5-7; JMV., III, p. 391.
  3. SMV., III, p. 161/14; JMV., III, p. 156.
  4. SMV., III, p. 442/8; JMV., III, p. 443.
  5. SMV. III, P. 114/4, JMV., III, p. 114.
  6. AIHC., p. 15.
  7. For lists, see AIHC., pp. 15-17; BMV. I, pp. XXXV—XL, SBBJ., p. 211.
  8. Manu IV. 85. Harivaṁsa Purāṇa, Viṣṇu Parva, XXIX. 5.
  9. AIHC., pp. 18-19; Kāśī Kā Itihāsa, pp. 7, 88-101.
  10. Bhāgavata, IV. 17. 2.
  11. Agni P. CCCLXVI. 43(ii); Amarakośa, II. 10. 5 (Poona, p. 90).
  12. VDh., III. 324. 4 (i).
  13. MSED. p. 343.



travelled in groups moving in company for the sale of their mercantile goods.<sup>1</sup> The *Mahābhārata* also mentions such merchants styled *sārthavañijāḥ*, who sailed their ships in company.<sup>2</sup> The *Mahāvastu* also mentions sea-faring traders.<sup>3</sup> It refers to 'vāñijagaṇam'<sup>4</sup> (the group of merchants<sup>5</sup> ? Other traders also travelled under the guidance of a *sārthavaḥa*.<sup>6</sup> The *Mahāvastu* also refers to 'vañika'-śreṣṭhi' i. e. 'a head of a guild of merchants'.<sup>8</sup> Thus it indicates their corporate organisation.

Lakṣmīdhara, the versatile minister of Govindacandra, also refers to the corporate life of traders and artisans under the title of *Śambhūya-samuthānam* and quotes Nārada (VI. 12), Bṛhaspati (XIII. 3. 1. 5), Yājñavalkya (II. 259), and Kātyāyana (624).<sup>9</sup> Quoting Kātyāyana (678-682) he mentions 'naigamaḥ', 'samūhaḥ', 'pūgaḥ' 'gaṇaḥ' and *śreṇis* 'styled multitude of classes (*samūhasthaṣca vargaḥkhyāte*).<sup>10</sup> Thus 'śreṇayah' (guilds) represent *śilpīsamūhaḥ* (a group of artisans).<sup>11</sup> He comments.

“ 'śreṇaya' ekakarmapravṛttaḥ vañik kṛṣīvalādayaḥ ”.<sup>12</sup>

i. e. *śreṇis* represent groups of traders; farmers and others engaged in the same vocation. The representatives of *gaṇas* and *śreṇis* held important place in a royal council.<sup>13</sup> There are epigraphic references

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1. Sk. VI. 65. 9; Bhāgavata P., V. 13. 1.
  2. Mbh., Śānti Parva, CLIV. 8(i)
  3. JMV., III, p. 347; SMV., III, p. 350/11-12, 351/1-4; pp. 354-55  
BMV., II, pp. 82 (verse 54),
  4. SMV., III, p. 355/15.
  5. JMV., III, p. 353.
  6. BMV., II, pp. 235/1-5, 402/10
  7. BMV., I, p. 3/1, 1/7-8.
  8. JMV., I, p. 1.
  9. Kṛtyakalpataṛu, XII (vyavaharakāṇḍa), p. 3; LIX, pp. 358-59.
  10. Ibid., LXXX, p. 810; XVI, p. 111.
  11. Ibid., p. 810, Footnote 4.
  12. Ibid., I, p. 20.
  13. Ibid., I, pp. 30, 31.



on the basis of which Dr. Mirashi observes, that "There were, again, rich and powerful śreṇīs (guilds) and gaṇas (corporations)".<sup>1</sup> He adds : "These guilds acted also as banks and received deposits of money, on which they stipulated to pay a certain amount of interest in perpetuity. Traders and artisans also had their own corporations called gaṇas".<sup>2</sup>

According to yājñavalkya it was the duty of a king to prevent the breach of conventions of śreṇī, pūga, gaṇa and naigama etc.<sup>3</sup> Al-beruni also mentions "eight classes of people or eight guilds."<sup>4</sup> Thus it is evident that traders, artisans and craftsmen engaged in different vocations had their corporate organisations the leaders of which kept a close watch on the interests of their class and companions.<sup>5</sup>

The Skanda Purāṇa also refers to śreṇīs. King Indradyumna was accompanied by such guilds (śreṣṭha-śreṇyādayaḥ)<sup>6</sup> who belonged to cities and market-towns. pura-kharvaṭa vāsibhiḥ.<sup>7</sup> There is reference to the headmen of the śreṇīs (śreṇī-mukhyaḥ) of Indraprastha (modern Delhi) who were made to settle at Mathurā.<sup>8</sup> The Nārada Smṛti which also mentions "gatherings (kula), corporations (śreṇī) and assemblies (gaṇa)."<sup>9</sup> associates śreṇīs or guilds with the eighteen 'Prakṛtis'.<sup>10</sup> The Skanda Purāṇa also mentions eighteen Prakṛtis or low-castes (nīcaḥ)<sup>11</sup> who followed the vocations associated with trade, usury, and arts.<sup>12</sup>

**Aṣṭādaśa Prakṛtayaḥ**—Nārada describes the eighteen Prakṛtis or

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1. CII., IV, p. CXXX viii.
  2. Ibid., p. CLXIX.
  3. Yājñavalkya, II. 192.
  4. A. I., Part. I. p. 101.
  5. cf., yājñavalkya II., 188, 191; cf. 'samūha-hita-vadinām
  6. Sk. II. ii. 11. 80.
  7. Ibid., II. ii. 11. 80.
  8. Ibid., II. VI. 2. 2.
  9. Nārada, I. 7; cf., Footnote 7, p-6 (SBE., XXXIII).
  10. Ibid. III. 155 (i), p. 93 and commentary on the same, Footnote 155.
  11. Sk., VI. 241. 39 (i); also cf., Amarakośa (Poona edn.), II. 10. 16 (p. 91).
  12. Ibid., VI. 241. 44.



Śrenīs along with their 'vṛtti' and dharma.<sup>1</sup> They are also stated to have sprung from the Creator.<sup>2</sup> They are—

1. Śilpī (artisan).
2. Nartaka (dancer)
3. Kāṣṭhakāra (wood-worker)
4. Prajāpati (viśvakarmā i.e. craftsman or architect)
5. Vardhakī (carpenter)
6. Citraka (painter)
7. Sūtraka (architect)
8. Rajaka (washerman)
9. Gacchaka (courier)
10. Taṇtukāra (weaver)
11. Cakrikā (oilman)
12. Carmakāraka (leather-worker, shoe-maker)
13. Sūnika (butcher)
14. Dhvanika (seems to be 'dhunia')
15. Kaulhika
16. Matsyaghataka (fisherman)
17. Aunāmika, and
18. Cāṇḍāla<sup>3</sup>—The most abject of all social orders (sarva-varṇa-vigarhitāḥ Garuḍa P., I. 96. 4a; Cāṇḍālas live by executing criminals sentenced to death; (Viṣṇu Smṛti, XVI. 11).

The list of eighteen Prakṛtis is followed by their classification and here new names, which are not found in the above mentioned list, are noticed. They are divided into three classes viz., the best (the highest), the middling and the ordinary class (uttamā madhyamā samāḥ)<sup>4</sup> and this classification is stated to be based on the Smṛtis.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Sk., VI. 242. 1.
  2. Ibid., VI. 242. 18 (i).
  3. Ibid., VI. 242. 32 (i)-34.
  4. Ibid., VI. 242. 38.
  5. Ibid., VI. 242. 39 (i).



**I. Uttamāḥ**

They are six in number :

1. Śilpika (artisan and craftsman)
2. Svarṇakāraka (goldsmith)
3. Dārūka (wood-worker)
4. Kāṇṣyakāraka (worker in kāṇṣya or bell-metal)
5. Kāḍuka (cane or reed workers or arrow makers),<sup>1</sup> and
6. Kumbhakāra<sup>2</sup> (potter).

**II. The five prakṛtis of the middle-order are :—**

1. Kharavāhī (keeper of mules)
2. Uṣṭravāhī (keeper of camels)
3. Hayavāhī (keeper of horses)
4. Gopāla (herdsman)
5. Iṣṭikākāra (brick-maker).<sup>3</sup>

**III. Seven Antyajās**

The Prakṛitis of the third group are associated with low-castes (hīno varṇena) as is evident from the title Antyajā. They are—

1. Rajaka (washerman)
2. Caramakāra
3. Naṭa (dancer and actor)<sup>4</sup>
4. Buruḍa (a mixed tribe)
5. Kaivartta ('kevaṭa', fisherman)
6. Meda (a mixed tribe)
7. Bhilla<sup>5</sup> (Bhils) wild tribe.

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1. Mahāvastu St., p. 39 (No. 19).

2. Sk. VI. 242. 35.

3. Ibid., VI. 242. 36.

4. Ibid., V. i. 47. 36.

5. Ibid., VI. 242. 37-38 (i)



Thus we find two separate lists of the eighteen Prakṛtis :

No.	List I	List II
1.	Śilpī	Śilpika
2.	Nartaka	Svarṇakāra
3.	Kaṣṭhakāra	Dārūka
4.	Prajāpati	Kāṇsyakāraka
5.	Vardhakī	Kāḍuka
6.	Citraka	Kumbhakāra
7.	Sūtraka	Kharavāhī
8.	Rajaka	Uṣṭravāhī
9.	Gacchaka	Hayavāhī
10.	Tantukāra	Gopāla
11.	Cakrika	Iṣṭikakāra
12.	Carmakāra	Rajaka
13.	Sūnika	Carmakāra
14.	Dhvanika	Naṭa
15.	Kaulhika	Buruḍa
16.	Matsyaghātaka	Kaivarṭta
17.	Aunāmika	Meda
18.	Caṇḍāla	Bhilla

In these two lists Nos. 1, 8 and 12 of the first list are respectively the same as Nos. 1, 12 and 13 of the second list.

As stated above, we find references to eighteen guilds in the Jātakas and Mahāvastu. "But a list of the whole eighteen has unfortunately not yet been found".<sup>1</sup> While discussing the social grades Dr. Rhys-Davids observes, that "Below all four, that is, below the Śūdras we have mention of other 'low tribes' and 'low trades'—hīna-jātiyo and hīna-sippāni. Among the first we are told of workers in rushes, bird-catchers, and cart-makers.....who were hereditary craftsmen in these three

1. Buddhist India, p. 57



ways. Among the latter—mat-makers, barbers, potters, weavers, and leather-workers.....”<sup>1</sup> are mentioned.

These ‘low-tribes’ and ‘low-trades’ appear to be the same as the eighteen Prakṛtis of the Skanda Purāṇa.

Both the lists of eighteen Prakṛtis include the name of artisans. “The guilds by this period appear to have become mostly fossilised into occupational sub-castes. The Mitākṣarā still clinging to the occupational origin of a śreṇī explains it as a group of people of different castes, who subsist by the occupation of one caste like heḍābukas (horse-dealers), tāmbūlikas (betel-sellers), kuvindas (weavers) and carmakāras (shoe-makers). The Smṛticandrikā and Viramitrodaya clearly admit the change and explain śreṇī as meaning the eighteen low castes such as the rajaka (washerman). The transformation of guilds into subcastes appears to have gone much ahead even by the time of Bhaṭṭotpala who..... explains them simply as the corporation of many people belonging to the same caste. The Vaijayantī also takes śreṇī as the term for a body of people belonging to the same caste and profession. In the Kāṇhadade-prabandha we have a reference to eighteen varṇas, besides the four high castes which establishes clearly the transformation of guilds into sub-castes”<sup>2</sup> Dr. Dashrath Sharma observes that “From the description in the Kāṇhadade-prabandha it is obvious that eighteen varṇas are merely guilds of craftsmen and workers mentioned as śreṇīs in early Buddhist literature and as prakṛtis in the Skanda purāṇa”.<sup>3</sup> In the Abhidhāna-cintamaṇi, Śreṇī and Prakṛti appear as synonymous terms..... Pitāmaha.....gives the number of the prakṛtis as eighteen.....The references to eighteen prakṛtis are found in the inscriptions of the period also”.<sup>4</sup>

1. Buddhist India, p. 40.

2. ELNI., pp. 82-83.

3. ECD., p. 252.

4. ELNI., p. 83 (cf. E. I., II, p. 220;

Proc. Beng. A. S., 1877, p. 73;

Vogel Antiquities of Chamba State, pp. 162 (l. 11), 166 (l. 10).



As stated above seven Antyajās are associated with the Prakṛtis<sup>1</sup> viz., Rajaka, Carmakāra, Naṭa, Buruḍa, Kaivartta, Meda, Bhilla, and Caṇḍāla who are styled Śūdrāmānavas.<sup>2</sup> They were censured as low. Skanda describes their origin based on mixture of caste by unlawful intermarriage as is mentioned in the other Smṛtis and Purāṇas.<sup>3</sup> Thus they are associated with the Śūdras, who could earn their livelihood by practising different arts and crafts (kāvāderjīvikā vṛttim)<sup>4</sup>. They were mixed castes called Antyaja-sambhava.<sup>5</sup> They were denounced and deprecated (sarvakarmasu garhitāḥ)<sup>6</sup> in the social and religious life of the country.

While dealing with the castes and the classes below them (A. I., I, Chapter IX), Al-beruni observes that "After the Śūdra follow the people called Antyajās, who render various kinds of services, who are not reckoned amongst any caste, but only as members of a certain craft or profession. There are eight classes of them, who freely intermarry with each other, except the fuller, shoemaker, and weaver, for no others would condescend to have anything to do with them. These eight guilds are the fuller, shoemaker, juggler, the basket and shield-maker, the sailor, fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and of birds, and the weaver. The four castes do not live together with them in one and the same place. These guilds live near the villages and towns of the four castes, but outside them".

"The people called Hādī, Doma (Domba), Caṇḍāla, and Badhatau (sic) are not reckoned amongst any caste or guild. They are occupied with dirty work, like the cleansing of the villages and other services. They are considered as one sole class, and distinguished only by their occupations. In fact, they are considered like illegitimate children; for according to general opinion they descend from a śūdra father and a

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1. Sk., VI. 242. 37-38 (i).

2. Ibid., VI. 27. 44.

3. Ibid., VI. 27. 45-52.

4. Ibid., II. ix. 20. 36.

St. Sk., I, p. 282.

5. Sk., VI. 27. 46, 47ff.

6. Ibid., VI. 27. 51.



Brahmaṇī mother as the children of fornication; therefore, they are degraded outcastes"<sup>1</sup>

#### (XIV) OCCUPATIONS

There are references to a number of other classes of people viz., traders,<sup>2</sup> agriculturists,<sup>3</sup> artisans<sup>4</sup> and others who contributed to the economic life of the country. A few Brāhmaṇas of Dharmaraṇya were engaged in agriculture.<sup>5</sup> Some of them were physicians (āyurveda-rataḥ).<sup>6</sup> In Dharmaraṇya there were weavers (tantukṛt and tantuvāya),<sup>7</sup> oil-millers (tailakaraḥ),<sup>8</sup> kalakaraḥ (?), or potters (kumbhakaraḥ)<sup>9</sup> and taṇḍulakaraṇaḥ.<sup>10</sup> A few Brāhmaṇas living not far from Dharmaraṇya on the bank of the river Sābhramatī cultivated land and tended cattle.<sup>11</sup> Thus, in the Kaliyuga marked by social degeneration, Vārtta i. e. agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade were not confined only to vaiśyas. Brāhmaṇas, too, as stated above, followed these occupations.

During the reign of King Indradyumna of Mālava, there were people who followed the vocations of astrologers, musicians, physicians, bards, story-tellers, scholars, courtesans, farmers, herdsmen, and traders etc.<sup>12</sup> The long royal retinue included śreṣṭhas and śreṇis (śreṣṭhaśreṇy-ādayaḥ)<sup>13</sup>, which shows that the guilds of merchants still held an impor-

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1. A. I., I, pp. 101-102.
  2. Sk., I. ii. 44. 33 (ii); III. i. 5. 141; III. ii. 32. 61, 64 (ii); III. ii. 39. 292.
  3. Ibid., III. ii. 39. 287 (i); VII. i. 205. 69.
  4. Ibid., VII. i. 129. 20; VII. i. 167. 115; VII. i. 205. 33; VII. i. 207. 33 (i), 38.
  5. Ibid., III. ii. 39. 233 (ii), 287 (i); III. ii. 39. 300 (i).
  6. Ibid., III. ii. 39. 288 (i).
  7. Ibid., III. ii. 39. 289.
  8. Ibid., III. ii. 39. 291 (ii).
  9. Ibid., III. ii. 39. 292 (i), the meaning of kalakaraḥ is not certain. NK., Dharmaraṇya Kh., 39. 292 (i) reads kumbhakaraśca.
  10. Sk., III. ii. 39. 292 (i).
  11. Ibid. III. ii. 300-301.
  12. Ibid., II. ii. 11. 13 (ii)-23.
  13. Ibid., II. ii. 11. 80.



tant place in the country and the court.<sup>1</sup> This is evident from a study of coins, seals and epigraphs.<sup>2</sup> Prof. Mirashi observes that "There were, again, rich and powerful Śreṇis (guilds) and Gaṇas (corporations) which maintained their own militia.<sup>3</sup> The kings were not loth to use this military force in times of difficulty".<sup>4</sup>

There are references to fishermen engaged in fishing with their nets,<sup>5</sup> particularly on the sea-coasts and on the river-banks.<sup>6</sup> They are called matsyaghātakas,<sup>7</sup> who have been mentioned as one of the eighteen prakṛtis stated above (First list of guilds, No. 16), Kaivarttas<sup>8</sup> (second list, III Antyajās, No. 5), Niśādas<sup>9</sup> and Dasas.<sup>10</sup> Niśādas called matsya-jīvinah,<sup>11</sup> lived on the sea-coast (niśādāmatsyghātinah velāṭatanivāsaśca).<sup>12</sup> Even today they are found on the sea-coast (velāṭaṭa) engaged in fishing.

Skanda refers to a region in Prabhāsa Kṣetra associated with the Niśādas.<sup>13</sup> Their life, based on toil, is hard (śrameṇa mahataviṣṭaḥ kaivarttā duḥkha-jīvinah)<sup>14</sup> as is stated by Āpastamba. Skanda mentions kulāla (potter) making earthen pots with his wheel.<sup>15</sup>

Skanda contains a description of kulāla making earthen pots with his moving wheel;<sup>16</sup> and of kalāda (goldsmith) engaged in purifying

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1 Bhāgavata P., IV. 17. 2

2. HNEI., p. 312,

CII., Vol. III, p. 86.

3. CII., Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 2, 3; No. 120, pp. 612, 615.

4. Ibid., Introduction, p. CXXXVIII.

5. Sk., I. i. 33. 5 (i).

6. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 21.

7. Ibid., VI. 242. 34; VII. i. 249. 1.

8. Ibid., III. ii. 5. 81; VI. 242. 37; VII. i. 338. 12.

9. Ibid., VII. i. 338. 10-11.

10. Ibid., VI. i. 338. 24(i); VII. iii. 23. 4, 6.

11. Ibid., VII. i. 338. 74 (ii); VII. iii. 23. 8 (i).

12. Ibid., IV. i. 30. 64, 77 (i), 78 (ii).

13. Ibid., VII. i. 338. 10 (ii).

14. Ibid., VII. i. 338. 27 (i).

15. Ibid., VII. i. 11. 194 (ii)-195 (i).



gold.<sup>1</sup> According to the Garuḍa Purāṇa, gold is tested by touch, cutting, striking and melting.<sup>2</sup> Skanda also refers to rubbing (on touch stone), melting and cutting.<sup>3</sup>

Vyādhās used to earn their living by catching snakes, as we find them today moving about in villages and cities. Udayana, the famous ruler of Kauśāmbī, felt pity on a snake caught by a Śābara who would not release it, as he earned his living by it in villages and cities. The Śābara set it free, when Udayana gave his bracelet to him. The Śābara went to a merchant of Kauśāmbī to sell that bracelet.<sup>4</sup> There is also a reference to a female snake-catcher.<sup>5</sup>

Like nāṭa and nartaka, the profession of a courtesan is also mentioned in the Skanda Purāṇa. Veśyā,<sup>6</sup> gaṇikā,<sup>7</sup> and paṇyāstri<sup>8</sup> are the terms used for women who used to entertain visitors on payment of money, out of which they were required to pay tax to the State.<sup>9</sup>

Thus we see that the various occupations mentioned above throw valuable light on the different aspects of rural and urban economy.

#### (XV) LABOUR

Skanda refers to 'bhṛtyas' (servants employed on wages) employed in the building of stone-structures (śilāsaṅcayakān bhṛtyān).<sup>10</sup> They are also mentioned as Viśvakarmāparicārakas.<sup>11</sup> There are references to craftsmen who worked on wages (gṛhīta vetanāḥ śilpivṛndā).<sup>12</sup>

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1. Sk., I. ii. 46.71(ii).
  2. Garuḍa P., I. 112. 3 (i).
  3. Sk., I. ii. 45. 122 (ii).
  4. Ibid., III. i. 5. 126(ii)-130.
  5. Ibid., III. i. 5. 141.
  6. Ibid., IV. i. 45. 7 (i).
  7. Ibid., VII. i. 130. 63; VII. i. 290. 15.
  8. Ibid., VII. i. 129. 20; VII. i. 207. 38.
  9. Ibid., V. i. 50. 6.
  10. KA., II. 27. 27. II. 27 deals with Gaṇikādhyaḥśa and with the establishments of gaṇikas.
  11. Sk., II. ii. 16. 20.
  12. Ibid., VII. i. 23. 3.
  12. Ibid., II. ii. 22. 14 (ii).



There are references to porters (bhāravahāḥ),<sup>1</sup> who received proper wages (ucitā bhṛtīm), servants skilled in sevākarma<sup>2</sup> and slaves (dāsa<sup>3</sup> and dāsis.)<sup>4</sup>

Sevākarma was highly deprecated by the epithet of śva-vṛtti.<sup>5</sup> Brahmā cursed Hama, his vehicle, when the latter failed to attend to a call of the former.<sup>6</sup> Hama's observations full of repentance for his fault that led to his dismissal from the service represent the pitiable conditions of the servants—a state of slavery and servitude.<sup>7</sup> They were expected not to leave their masters. It was deemed to be a sin.<sup>8</sup>

### (XVI) SLAVERY

"In all countries the hardest work often falls to the lot of the least paid men. Society gets its drudgery done by this class and in return treats them as outcastes."<sup>9</sup> Aśoka exhorts us, even today, to treat slaves and servants well (dāsa-bhatakamhi samya pratipati). It was one of the principles of Asoka's Dhamma.

There are frequent references to dāsa and dāsis in our text.<sup>10</sup> There is reference to the purchase of a slave (dāsa)<sup>11</sup> Skanda tells us that a maiden purchased was called dāsi (krayakṛita ca yā kanyā dāsi sā parikīrtita).<sup>12</sup> It proves the sale of ladies and we know that king

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1. Sk., IV. i. 30. 47 (i).
  2. Ibid., IV. i. 8. 37.
  3. Ibid., VII. i. 166. 111; (Sk. St. I, p. 308).
  4. Ibid., VII. i. 23. 16.
  5. Ibid., VII. i. 207. 55.
  6. Ibid., V. iii. 221. 5-7.
  7. Ibid., V. iii. 221. 12.
  8. Ibid., V. iii. 221. 8 (i).
  9. Buch., E.L.A.I., I, p. 253.
  10. St. Sk., Part I, p. 308.
  11. Sk., I. IIIU. 18. 6 (i).
  12. Ibid., VI. 241. 28 (ii).



Hariscandra had sold his wife,<sup>1</sup> his son<sup>2</sup> and himself<sup>3</sup> too. Thus the queen had to work as *dāsī* (*dāsībhāvaṃ gata<sup>4</sup>* or *dāsītvamāgata<sup>5</sup>*). So was the case with Hariścandra who had to work as a slave<sup>6</sup> at the behest of a *Cāṇḍāla* (*Cāṇḍāla-dāsatvaṃ*).<sup>7</sup> The harsh and rude treatment meted out them<sup>8</sup> reminds one of the 'Slave's Dream'.

Probably it was due to such horrors associated with slavery (*dāsatā*), that there was at least one such school of thinkers who did not commend the practice in which a man has to serve another man as his slave (*mānuṣā mānuṣeneva dāsabhavena bhuñjate*).<sup>9</sup> Thus *dāsa-bhāva* is a curse and it is further evident from famous Purāṇic story of *Kadrū* and *Vinatā*.<sup>10</sup>

### (XVII) MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL PROSPERITY

Thus India in the time of the Skanda Purāṇa enjoyed material prosperity based on the growth of agriculture and commerce. Cattle-rearing and usury were also recognised as means of earning money. Different arts and crafts were prevalent. These were organised into guilds.

The importance of wealth was recognised and its classification into three classes viz., *Śuklaṃ*, *Śabalaṃ* and *Kṛṣṇaṃ* exhibits the influence of ethics on the economic life. Money had to be acquired through fair means. It was to be spent on the performance of pious acts like charities.<sup>11</sup> One-tenth of earnings were to be offered to the deity.<sup>12</sup>

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1. *Devi Bhagavata*, VII. 22. 3-17.
  2. *Ibid.*, VII. 22. 20-26.
  3. *Ibid.*, VII. 22. 20-26.
  4. *Ibid.*, VII. 22. 34.
  5. *Ibid.*, VII. 22. 38.
  6. *Ibid.*, VII. 23. 6.
  7. *Ibid.*, VII. 23. 17.
  8. *Ibid.*, VII. 24. 12; VII. 25. 13-16, 20-28, 70; VII. 25. 87-88.
  9. *Sk.*, I. ii. 45. 35.
  10. *Garuḍa*, I. 2. 48-50.
  11. *Matsya P.*, CCLXXIII. 1-2.
  12. *Sk.*, VII. i. 28. 31 (ii).



Skanda upholds the value of conduct as compared to that of wealth. The former was to be preserved at the cost of the latter. The destruction of wealth is superfluous, for it can be acquired, again, if the conduct is maintained, One is doomed if his conduct is lost :

vṛttaṁ tasmātu saṁrakṣed vittameti gataṁ punaḥ  
akṣiṇo vittataḥ kṣiṇo vṛttastu hato hataḥ.<sup>1</sup>

Matsya Purāṇa also upholds the glory of Dharma in comparison to that of wealth.<sup>2</sup> It asserts that "One should acquire, increase, and protect wealth by fair means."<sup>3</sup> Life is momentary, wealth is transient and every thing is in the clutches of death. Under such circumstances a man should always follow the course of Dharma :

अनित्यं जीवितं यस्मत् वसु चातीव चञ्चलम् ।  
केशेष्वेव गृहीतः सन् मृत्युना धर्ममाचरेत् ॥<sup>4</sup>

**Dhanam ca dharmika-phalam :** Thus the importance of wealth was realised by the people and the princes alike in the past, as is held now; but it was also maintained that the only fruit of wealth is Dharma or piety which gives knowledge and direct realization and forthwith leads to Supreme Peace or Liberation (mokṣa). Those who used wealth solely for their own comfort or for their family forget death, the formidable enemy of their body.<sup>5</sup> Hence ancient Indian sages recognised economics (varla) as an important branch of learning along with Philosophy (Ānvikṣikī), three Vedas (Trayī) and politics (Daṇḍa-nīti).<sup>6</sup>

1. Sk., VII. i. 207. 69.

2. Matsya P., CCLXXIII. 24.

3. Ibid., CCLXXIII, 1.

cf. Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta.

4. Matsya, CCLXXIII. 24.

5. Bhāgavata, XI. 5. 12.

6. Ibid., III. 12. 44 (i).



### CHAPTER III

## RELIGIOUS LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS

### DHARMA

#### DHARMA—RELIGIOUS FAITHS AND PRACTICES

##### Salutations to Dharma

‘Namo dharmāya mahate viśva-dhātre mahātmane.<sup>1</sup>

All worldly relations and possessions—wife, sons, wealth, family, friends, mother, brothers, father, father-in-law, servants, splendour, wealth, youth and even knowledge—become helpless; and Dharma alone helps as a (true) friend at the time of death (Dharmā ekaḥ sahāyāḥ). Brāhma-Khaṇḍa (III. ii) opens with salutations to Gaṇeśa and Śrī Rāmacandra. The benedictory verse (No. 1) is followed by the above observations (verse No. 2) upholding the glory of Dharma as a true companion who does not desert a person, when all, near-and-dear relations, depart.

Foundations of the Hindu culture and civilization are based on the four human ends (Puruṣārtha-catustayaṁ)<sup>2</sup> namely Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa (mukti)<sup>3</sup> Importance of ‘caturvarga’,<sup>4</sup> and sometimes only ‘trivarga’<sup>5</sup> viz., Dharma, Artha and Kāma, is stressed. Trivarga seems to represent the ‘triratna’ of Brahmanism. Avimukta-kṣetra (Kāśī) is described as an exalted abode of these ratnas.<sup>6</sup>

**Dharma**—Dharma begets emancipation (dharmāt samjāyate mokṣaḥ).<sup>7</sup> But there are different conceptions of Dharma according to

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1. SK., I. ii. 58. 49 (ii)
  2. Ibid., IV. i. 45. 22 (ii).
  3. Ibid., IV. i. 45. 24; V. ii. 45. 50 (i).
  4. Ibid., VII. i. 107. 18 (ii).
  5. Ibid., V. iii. 1. 25 (i).
  6. Ibid., IV. ii. 74. 29 (ii).
  7. Garuḍa, I. 49. 20 (i).



different schools of thought. The Skanda Purāṇa takes Dharma in the sense of duty associated with modern idea of humanism i.e. 'do not do what will hurt the others'—'Pareṣāṁ kleśadaṁ karma na kāryaṁ tat kadācana'<sup>1</sup> Dharma according to it also meant faith or worship, ethics and a mighty force which embraced the entire life of a man from cradle to cremation. It stood as a code of conduct, and a mode of life, which regulated actions of the society, kings and commoners, high and low. Dharma is the foundation of this world, and hence it is to be worshipped.<sup>2</sup> Skanda refers to six-fold division of dharma based on Śruti and Smṛiti;<sup>3</sup> it points to the four-fold division of dharma, based on the institution of Varṇāśrama. Here it upholds the importance of **sva dharmas** (one's own duties). Dharma is also divided into three forms viz., Nitya, Naimittika and Kāmya. It is also classified as Sāttvika, Rājasa and Tāmasa. Sāttvika Dharma is that which is not disrespected by anyone, and it is recognised by Śruti and Smṛti and it is free from any desire. It causes purity of heart and brings good to virtuous people. Sāttvika-dharma does not violate the tradition and custom. Bhāgavata-dharmas are Sāttvikas in nature, and dharmas based on devotion to the other gods for the fulfilment of desires are styled Rājasa dharmas. The dharmas having faith in Yakṣas-rākṣasas, and Piśācas etc., and accompanied by violence, are styled Tāmasas.<sup>4</sup>

Thus there are various concepts of dharma with its numerous ways and forms—dharmāśca bahavaḥ sānti nānā mārgāḥ prthakvidhāḥ.<sup>5</sup>

**Nānā Dharma-mārgāḥ**—These many paths and acts<sup>6</sup> are also mentioned in the Kūrma Purāṇa which rightly holds that men and women of Bhāratavarṣa are engaged in the worship of different gods performing different religious acts.<sup>7</sup> C. V. Vaidya, who ascribes Skanda Purāṇa to Hindu Medieval India, refers to the prevalence of numerous

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1. Sk., I. i. 5. 22 (i).
  2. Ibid., II. ix. 14. 45 (i).
  3. Ibid., I. iii. p. 3. 53 (ii).
  4. Ibid., II. vii. 20. 53-58.
  5. Ibid., II. vii. 18. 32 (ii).
  6. Ibid., II. vii. 20. 1 (ii).
  7. Kūrma P., XLVII. 19.



religious sects and systems, pointing to the forty-two religious sects noticed by the Arab traveller.<sup>1</sup> "Al-Idrisi of the 11th Century A. D. gives more details. 'Among the principal nations of India there are forty-two sects. Some recognize the existence of a Creator but not of Prophets, while others deny the existence of both. Some acknowledge the intercessory powers of graven stones and others worship holy stones on which butter and oil is poured. Some pay adoration to fire and cast themselves into flames. Others adore the sun and consider it the creator and director of the world. Some worship trees; others pay adoration to serpents, which they keep in stables and feed and consider this to be meritorious. Lastly, there are some who give themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion and deny everything'.<sup>2</sup> Such is the account of the religious beliefs and practices which were then followed by the people of India. This is a clear picture of the religious state of the country as witnessed by contemporary Arab travellers. The Skanda Purāṇa reflects the prevalence of different religious beliefs and practices as enumerated above by All-Idrisi and quoted by Śrī Vaidya. The number 'forty-two', as the number of religious sects referred to by these Arab writers, is also significant, although none of them has described fully these forty-two religions. Perhaps it signifies only many (*nānā mārgaḥ*). Undoubtedly there were many religious sects. Some of them depended on the *abhyāsa* (*abhyāsa bahulā dharmāḥ*), others (*many more*) had their separate existence based on scriptures (*śāstra dṛṣṭa sahasra-śaḥ*).<sup>3</sup> Some recognised the existence of Creator, *Brahmā*, others of *Viṣṇu* who preserves and protects the universe or of *Śiva* who destroys it.<sup>4</sup> But these three are essentially One, differently named due to their separate functions.<sup>5</sup> They appear as separate deities because of three qualities of the One Infinite.<sup>6</sup> That Creator is called *Nārāyaṇa*, *Brahmā* or *Śiva*, without any distinction.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Vaidya, H. M. H. I., Vol. II, Chap. III, p. 116.

2. Elliot & Dowson, History of India, Vol. I (Alld. Edn), p. 76  
(Nuzhatu-l Mushtak, Section X).

3. Sk., III. i. 16. 32.

4. Ibid., VII. ii. 18. 43-44.

5. Ibid., VII. i. 105. 72.

6. Ibid., VII. ii. 8. 8-9; VII. ii. 18. 43 (i).

7. Ibid., VII. ii. 18. 41.



Param Brahma is One; but He is divided according to the functions<sup>1</sup> which He has to perform. These three gods were the objects of popular worship. Prophets of Al-Idrisi appear to be the Avatāras or incarnations of Viṣṇu, most popular among them being Rāma and Kṛṣṇa whose worship was equally popular in the country. There were different classes of atheists<sup>2</sup> who denied the existence of both the creator and the prophets.<sup>3</sup> There existed some heterodox systems,<sup>4</sup> particularly the Buddhism<sup>5</sup> and Jainism.<sup>6</sup> 'Graven stones' seem to be the sculptural representations, carved images of gods and goddesses. Stone worship<sup>7</sup> was also prevalent in this age. 'Holy stones' represent the Liṅgas<sup>8</sup> and Śaḷagrāma<sup>9</sup> Śīlas, which were respectively worshipped by the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. Butter and oil was certainly poured upon them.<sup>10</sup> The worship of Sun<sup>11</sup> and Fire<sup>12</sup> was also popular. The Skanda Purāṇa describes, in detail, the practice of Prāṇatyāga<sup>13</sup> according to which people used to 'cast themselves into flames' or in the holy waters or jump from the sacred hill-tops. The epigraphic sources also corroborate this religious practice. Trees<sup>14</sup> and serpents<sup>15</sup> are worshipped even today and their feeding is considered to be a meritorious act. Such persons, as do not trouble themselves about any kind of devotion and

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1. Sk., VII. i. 105. 72.
  2. Ibid., VII. i. 3. 111.
  3. Ibid., I. i. 3. 82.
  4. Ibid., VII. i. 119. 49-52; VII. iv. 1. 1.
  5. Ibid., I. ii. 47. 13.
  6. Ibid., VII. i. 119. 48, 50.
  7. Ibid., I. ii. 45. 79.
  8. Ibid., I. i. 5. 112-115 etc.; I. i. 10. 66-67.
  9. Ibid., VI. 2. 43. 49-66, etc.
  10. Ibid., I. ii. 34. 17.
  11. Ibid., VII. ii. 56. 18; VII. i. 236. 16.
  12. Ibid., VII. ii. 6. 72; IV. i. 35. 199.
  13. Ibid., I. ii. 52. 44-45, etc.
  14. Ibid., I. ii. 41, 127; IV. i. 40. 103.
  15. Ibid., V. i. 52. 38.



deny everything, were not unknown even in the age of the Skanda Purāṇa. They are mentioned in the Purana to be following animal life (Paśu-dharma ratāḥ).<sup>1</sup>

The foreign Arab traveller not being fully conversant with the religious life of India has missed many more<sup>2</sup> modes of religious worship. The worship of Śiva,<sup>3</sup> Viṣṇu,<sup>4</sup> Devī<sup>5</sup> and Gaṇeśa<sup>6</sup> besides that of Sūrya was most popular. There were ascetics of different orders.<sup>7</sup> The path of rituals and sacrifices<sup>8</sup> as well as that of knowledge and devotion (Bhakti) was also well-trodden by the people. Thus we see that there were many religions (dharma nānavidhā prokta),<sup>9</sup> based on different schools of faith and philosophy like Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Vedānta etc. as well as Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and asceticism,<sup>10</sup> upholding the virtues of truth, purity and knowledge.<sup>11</sup> The religious life of India in this age was sufficiently influenced by the Tāntric ideas. Skanda, too, refers to the prevalence of Tāntric cult.<sup>12</sup> Wine and meat were offered as 'naivedya' to the deities. Trika, instrumental and vocal music as well as dancing by female dancers,<sup>13</sup> in front of the deity in the temple was also a popular mode of religious worship. We also evince a rational spirit in the religious thought in the epoch of the Skanda Purāṇa. One school of thought advocates violence—the violence in the performance of sacrifices, pleading 'vaidikī himsā himsā na bhavati',<sup>14</sup> whereas the other school vehemently censures the violence and upholds

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1. Sk., I. iii. 1. 19.
  2. Ibid., VII. ii. 6. 95.
  3. Ibid., I. ii. 65. 13.
  4. Ibid., VII. i. 324. 3.
  5. Ibid., VII. i. 4. 57-59; VII. i. 130. 31-34.
  6. Ibid., I. i- 10. 74-75; etc.
  7. Ibid., VII. i. 4. 57-59; VII. i. 130. 31-34.
  8. Ibid., I. ii. 2. 36.
  9. Ibid., I. i. 32. 3.
  10. Ibid., I. i. 32. 52-53.
  11. Ibid., I. i. 2. 34-37.
  12. Ibid., II. vii. 18. 60; VI. 89. 14; VI. 89. 18-19, 23-24.
  13. Ibid., IV. ii. 56. 34-36; VII. ii. 1. 93.
  14. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 15.



the doctrine of non-violence.<sup>1</sup> Violence was deemed to be a sin (*nāsti himsā samam papam*)<sup>2</sup>

### VEDIC RELIGION AND RITUALS

Skanda upholds the glory of Vedic religion and sacrifices. Veda-dharma was championed by kṣatriya rulers like Kaśirāja, Citrasena.<sup>3</sup>

Veda, according to the Skanda Purāṇa, is not only root of the world, but all the rituals (*kriyā*), and *yajñās*, trace their origin from the Vedas.<sup>4</sup> Thus dharma based on the Vedas was glorified as the best of all the religions.<sup>5</sup> Inscriptions also uphold the glory of Śruti-Patha.<sup>6</sup> Dharma propounded by the Vedas is variously called as Veda-dharma,<sup>7</sup> Veda-vāda,<sup>8</sup> Vaidikācāra,<sup>9</sup> Vedoktām-karma<sup>10</sup> and Trayī-mārga,<sup>11</sup> etc.

Karma-kāṇḍa<sup>12</sup> asserted the performance of sacrifices<sup>13</sup> or rituals.<sup>14</sup> Yajña is to be performed for the propitiation of the gods.<sup>15</sup> Their performance involved animal-sacrifice. This proved to be a cause of the unpopularity of these rituals (cf. Bhagvadgītā, II. 43) and a feeling of

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1. Sk., I.iii. p. 11. 69; II. i. 12. 31; II. ix. 6. 14.
  2. Ibid., VI. 29. 221; II. ii. 10. 101. III. i. 45. 23.
  3. Ibid., V. iii. 53. 4.
  4. Ibid., V. ii. 83. 17.
  5. Garuḍa P., II. 1. 2.
  6. Sk., III. iii. 16. 34.
  7. Haraha Ins. of Iśānavarman, refers to śruti-patha (V-9).
  8. Sk., V. iii. 53. 4.
  9. Ibid., I. i. 2. 35.
  10. Ibid., III. i. 49. 20.
  11. Ibid., VI. 260. 5.
  12. Ibid., II. viii. 2. 37; Khajuraho Stone Ins. of Yaśovarman, verse 49 :  
त्रयीधर्मः प्रवर्द्धताम्
  13. Ibid., VII. i. 4. 77.
  14. Ibid., VII. iv. 44. 27.
  15. Ibid., V. ii. 83. 17.
  16. Ibid., I. ii. 45. 18.



revolt against the animal sacrifice<sup>1</sup> was great. For a way was already known to and popular among the people to obtain the desired object without sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> But the advocates of this path uphold that there is no other way to attain the salvation, except that of rituals,<sup>3</sup> as by the performance of the rituals all the gods are pleased and satisfied.<sup>4</sup>

Yajñas<sup>5</sup>-‘makha’,<sup>6</sup> ‘agnikārya’,<sup>7</sup> ‘homa’<sup>8</sup> or ‘deva-yajna’<sup>9</sup> etc. were performed for different purposes social, religious and political. Of these Aśvamedha,<sup>10</sup> Vājapeya, and Rājasūya<sup>11</sup> were the celebrated political rituals. Pañcayajña,<sup>12</sup> Pitr̥yajña,<sup>13</sup> Agnihotra,<sup>14</sup> Agnistoma,<sup>15</sup> Atirātra,<sup>16</sup> Cāturmāsya,<sup>17</sup> Dvādaśāho-mahāyajña,<sup>18</sup> Pauṇḍarika,<sup>19</sup> Paśu,<sup>20</sup> Gomedha and Naramedha<sup>21</sup>, Sarvamedha,<sup>22</sup> Uktha,<sup>23</sup> Soḍaśika,<sup>24</sup> Sautrāmaṇi<sup>25</sup>

1. Sk., III. ii. 36. 62; VI. 29. 221; cf. Aśoka R. E., I.

2. Ibid., V. iii. 21. 38.

3. Ibid., VII. i. 28. 61.

4. Ibid., VII. i. 29. 67.

5. Ibid., I. i. 8. 119; V. iii. 104. 6.

6. Ibid., V. iii. 33. 18.

7. Ibid., V. iii. 33. 21.

8. Ibid., III. ii. 5. 125; V. iii. 10. 38.

9. Ibid., VII. i. 23. 29.

10. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 18.

11. Ibid., VI. 271. 20.

12. Ibid., IV. i. 2. 23.

13. Ibid., III. ii. 5. 125.

14. Ibid., V. iii. 103. 5.

15. Ibid., III. i. 36. 93.

16. Ibid., VI. 271. 19.

17. Ibid., VI. 271. 20.

18. Ibid., VII. ii. 14. 77.

19. Ibid., VI. 271. 21; VII. i. 75. 10.

20. Ibid., VI. 271. 20.

21. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 18.

22. Ibid., V. iii. 182. 41.

23. Ibid., VI. 271. 19.

24. Ibid., VI. 271. 19.

25. Ibid., VI. 271. 20.



Satra-yajña,<sup>1</sup> and Somapāna-yajña<sup>2</sup> were famous socio-religious sacrifices. Sacrifices are performed, even today in Hindu society to mark many social functions. Sacrifice (homa) is an important ritual associated with the Saṁskāras.<sup>3</sup> Certain hymns and verses of the R̥V (R̥gveda) were used benedictions and prayers at birth, marriage, and other occasions of daily life, at funeral and ancestral-worship, as well at ceremonies for ensuring the fertility of the cattle and the growth of the fruits of the field. These ceremonies, called gṛhya karmāṇi were, as a rule, associated with sacrifices of the simplest type, viz. burnt offerings (i.e. offerings of milk, grain, ghī, or flesh thrown into fire). Skanda refers to different sacrifices which were performed in achieving material and spiritual purposes.<sup>4</sup>

These are (being given in alphabetical order):—Agniṣṭoma, Agni-hotra, Atirātra, Aśvamedha, Uktha, Gomedha, Caturmāsya, Dvādaśahomahā-yajña, Naramedha, Pañcayajña, Paśu, Piṭṛyajña, Pauṇḍarika, Rājasūya, Vajapeya, Śoḍaśika, Satra-yajña, Sarvamedha, Somapāna-yajña, Sautrāmaṇi.

**Agniṣṭoma**—It was a popular sacrifice,<sup>5</sup> which was performed for ‘the pleasure of Nārāyaṇa’.<sup>6</sup> It is mentioned by Pāṇini<sup>7</sup> and Patañjali.<sup>8</sup> “In the Mahābhāṣya, Agniṣṭoma is associated with Brāhmaṇas.....”.<sup>9</sup> Agniṣṭoma a ‘particular sacrifice’,<sup>10</sup> literally, “praise of the god Agni or fire” was a protracted sacrifice, extending over five days in spring, and forming one of the parts of the Jyotiṣṭoma, which was one of the principal sacrifices connected with the sacred Soma plant and juice. Other

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1. Sk., V. iii. 35. 28.
  2. Ibid., V. i. 7. 14.
  3. VA., p. 377.
  4. PTR., pp. 1. 2.  
cf. CHI., pp. 205-207.
  5. Sk., III. i. 36. 91(i), 93(i); cf. Manu, II. 143.
  6. St. Up., Vol. I, p. 311.
  7. PKB., p. 362.
  8. IKP., pp. 167. 168.
  9. Ibid., p. 170.
  10. CII., Vol. III., p. 302.



parts of the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice were the aptoryāma, ukthya, ṣoḍaśin, atirātra and Vājapeya ceremonies.....".<sup>1</sup>

As mentioned above Skanda also refers to atirātra, uktha, ṣoḍaśin, and vājapeya, which were performed by the Vākāṭaka ruler.<sup>2</sup>

**Agnihotra**—Atri, the famous sage, regularly performed Agnihotra, 'sacrifice to Agni'<sup>3</sup>..... oblation to Agni (chiefly of milk, oil, and sour gruel); there are two kinds of Agnihotra, one is nitya i.e. of constant obligation, the other kāmya i.e. optional".<sup>4</sup> Here Skanda refers to an obligatory Agnihotra which was daily performed by Atri. According to Manu the Agnihotra "Sacrifice may be performed, at any time after the sun has risen, before he has risen or when neither sun nor stars are visible; that (is declared) by Vedic texts".<sup>5</sup> It is often mentioned as one of the five sacrificial rites (mahāyajña) which are the daily duties of a Brāhmaṇa.<sup>6</sup> A Brāhmaṇa performing the agnihotra was called Agnihotrin.<sup>7</sup>

**Atirātra**—It represents "an optional part of the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice".<sup>8</sup>

**Aśvamedha (Horse-sacrifice)**—It is a celebrated sacrifice, the antiquity of which reaches back to the Vedic period (cf. Hymns I. 162, 163 referring to it); in later times its efficacy was so exaggerated, that a hundred such sacrifices entitled the sacrificer to displace Indra from the dominion of Svarga".<sup>9</sup> This sacrificial ceremony centred in a horse.<sup>10</sup>

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1. CII., Vol III., p. 241, Footnote 5.
  2. Ibid., p. 236, lines 1-2.
  3. Sk., V. iii. 103. 5.
  4. MSed., p. 6.
  5. Manu, II. 15; cf. IV. 10, 25; V. 167; VI. 9; XI. 42 for the different aspects of this sacrifice.
  6. IEG., p. 10 (vide El, 22; CII. 3, 4).
  7. Ibid., p. 10 (vide, CII, 4).
  8. MSed., p. 15; cf. CII, Vol. III, pp. 236, 241.
  9. Ibid., p. 115, cf. IEG., p. 34.
  10. CII., Vol. III, p. 303.  
Ibid., pp. 28, 241, 248.  
Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 23, 24, 128, 130, 133. 136, 138, 140.  
St. Sk., I, pp. 74, 205.



Agnīdhra Bharata, who gave his name to this country as Bhārata, performed numerous horse-sacrifices on the banks of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā.<sup>1</sup>

Aśvamedha and such other sacrifices like Gomedha and Naramedha entailed violence and meat-eating.<sup>2</sup> Bhavabhūti refers to Aśvamedha.<sup>3</sup> Gomedha is a 'cow-sacrifice'<sup>4</sup> and Naramedha represents a rare-bali<sup>5</sup> or a human sacrifice.<sup>6</sup>

**Ukhta :** It represents a kind of recitation or praise. It is "a libation at the morning and mid-day sacrifice".<sup>7</sup>

**Cāturmāsya :** It represents "three sacrifices performed at the beginning of the three seasons of four months".<sup>8</sup>

**Dvādaśāho-mahāyajña<sup>9</sup> :** It was performed by Bali in the country of Surāṣṭra.<sup>10</sup> Here Hari appeared in the form of Vāmana (Chap. XV of VII. ii).

**Pañca-yajña :** These were five great sacrifices viz., Brahma-yajña, Deva-yajña, Pitṛ-yajña, Mānuṣya-yajña, and Bhūta-yajña. "The Brahma-yajña is nothing more than the private recitation of the Veda, that is, the daily prayer by muttering the Sāvitrī hymn;..... Deva-yajña is the offering made to gods of melted butter in the nuptial fire..... Pitṛ-yajña is the funeral offerings daily made to the manes..... It consists of water (tarpaṇa) or food.....and feeding of Brahmanas (śraddha). Mānuṣya-yajña is the hospitality shown to mankind as a daily routine work. And lastly Bhūta-yajña or the offering of food

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1. Sk., VII. i. 172. 12.
  2. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 18.
  3. URC., I, 2; II, p. 95; IV, p. 252.
  4. MSED., p. 366.
  5. Ibid., p. 529.
  6. SED., p. 281.
  7. MSED., p. 172.
  8. Ibid., p. 392.
  9. Sk., VII. ii. 14. 77(ii).
  10. Ibid., VII. ii. 14. 76-78 ff.



daily made to all created beings (bhūta) by throwing grain etc. for the ants and insects".<sup>1</sup>

**Paśu** : It represents an animal sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> Skanda refers to Animal-sacrifices (paśavaḥ) performed by king Indradyumna.<sup>3</sup>

**Paṇḍarika** : Paṇḍarika is a kind of Soma sacrifices.<sup>4</sup> It was an important sacrifice which required a large amount of money and material.<sup>5</sup>

**Rājasūya and Vājapaya** : They were important political rituals<sup>6</sup> performed by one desiring supremacy.<sup>7</sup>

**Ṣoḍasika** : Ṣoḍasika was a grand sacrifice performed by sixteen priests.<sup>8</sup>

**Satra-yajña** : It was also "a great Soma sacrifice lasting according to some from 13 to 100 days and performed by many officiating Brāhmaṇas"<sup>9</sup> Skanda refers to sattra lasting for twelve years.<sup>10</sup>

**Sarvamedha**<sup>11</sup> : It represents "a universal sacrifice (a 10 days Soma sacrifice)".<sup>12</sup>

**Soma-pānam**<sup>13</sup> : It represents Soma-drinking ceremony.<sup>14</sup> Skanda refers to seven Soma sacrifices (sapta soma-saṁsthās) performed by

1. EHC., pp. 27-28.

2. MSED., p. 611.

3. Sk., VI. 272. 20 (i).

4. MSED., p. 650.

5. Sk., VII. i. 75. 10 (ii)-12.

6. St. Sk., Part I, p. 226.

IKP., pp. 167, 168, 169.

7. Ibid., p. 170.

8. MSED., p. 1110.

9. Ibid., p. 1138.

10. Sk., II. i. 1. 1.; V. iii. 35. 28,

11. Ibid., V. iii. 182. 41 (i).

12. MSED., p. 1186.

13. Sk., V. i. 7. 14 (i).

14. MSED., p. 1250.



Atri.<sup>1</sup> "Soma-yajñas are the great festivities when the intoxicant juice of soma plant was freely offered and drunk".<sup>2</sup>

**Sautrāmāṇi** : It represents "a particular sacrifice, performed in the honour of Indra."<sup>3</sup>

Most of these sacrifices—Agniṣṭoma, Atiratra, Uktha, Śoḍaśikas, Sautrāmāṇi, Paśu-sacrifices, Cāturmāsya-sacrifices, Vājapeya, Aśva-medha, Rājasūya, Pauṇḍarika and others—were performed by king Indradyumnā<sup>4</sup> (C 1198 A. D. ?).<sup>5</sup>

Thus, it appears from the Skanda Purāṇa that yajñas, despite a strong criticism levelled against them, were in vogue. The cause of popularity of yajñas seems to be their association with the rains.<sup>6</sup> "By sacrifices, ..... the gods are nourished; and by the rain which bestow, mankind are supported; and thus sacrifices, the source of happiness, are performed by pious men....."<sup>7</sup> The popularity of sacrifices is exhibited by the Gupta coins where we find kings performing sacrifices.<sup>8</sup> Talgunda Stone-Pillar Inscription of the time of Śantivarman (c. 455-70 A. D.) mentions various sacrifices viz., Cāturmāsya, Homeṣṭi, Paśu and Pārvaṇa etc.<sup>9</sup> Maukharis also adhered to Śruti-patha (Vedic dharma) and performed sacrifices.<sup>10</sup> Dr. Mirashi observes that "The tendency to perform great Vedic sacrifices did not strike deep root, and after the sixth century A. C. we have hardly any record mentioning them. Though the Śrauta sacrifices were rarely performed, the gṛhya rites such as the

1. Sk., V. iii. 193. 6.

2. EHC., p. 29.

cf. Manu., XI. 7-10.

3. MSed., p. 1252.

4. Sk., VI. 271. 19-21.

5. Smith, E.H.I., p. 117, and Footnote 1.

6. Viṣṇu P., I. 6. 8; Gita. III. 14

7. Wilson VP., I. vi, p. 39.

8. Allan, CCGD, pp. XXXI-XXXII, LXIX, LXXVI-LXXVII, LXXXIX etc.

9. HLI., No. 29, verses 5-6.

10. Ibid., No. 34, verses 7, 9, 10.



Pañcamahāyajñas continued unabated in Brāhmaṇa families".<sup>1</sup> He adds · We find the Purāṇic Hinduism was making a much greater headway in the earlier period. The doctrine of bhakti (devotion)..... appealed more to the popular mind than the cult of sacrifice".<sup>2</sup>

Sacrifices required many means,<sup>3</sup> like Agni-mandira, Agniśālā<sup>4</sup> or Agnihotra-niketa,<sup>5</sup> Yajña-maṇḍapa,<sup>6</sup> Yajña-bhūmi,<sup>7</sup> Yajñavāṭa,<sup>8</sup> vedi<sup>9</sup> and kuṇḍas.<sup>10</sup> In addition to the sacrificial-hall and altars, different priests like ṛtvijas, kulapati,<sup>11</sup> and an eminent Brāhmaṇa<sup>12</sup> who guided and supervised the performance of rituals.<sup>13</sup>

Thus rituals required learned priests viz., ṛtvijas, adhvaryu, hotā, agnīdhra, Brāhma, udgātā, ācārya,<sup>14</sup> etc. and a kulapati.<sup>15</sup> Sadasyas and Brāhmaṇas,<sup>16</sup> held their respective seats<sup>17</sup> assigned to them in the sacrificial-hall which was designed by an architect so as to comprise Patniśālā, Yajña-vedi, and sacrificial pits dug at their proper places. Other accessories are mentioned as Yajña-pātras (utensils), camasas (ladles), yūpes along with caṣalakas (wooden rings on the top of the

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1. CII., Vol. IV. p. CXLVI.
  2. Ibid., p. CXLVII.
  3. Sk., I. ii. 23. 14.
  4. Ibid., V. iii. 33. 25.
  5. Ibid., VII. i. 237. 49.
  6. Ibid., VII. ii. 14. 77.
  7. Ibid., V. iii. 2. 7.
  8. Ibid., VI. 79. 7.
  9. Ibid., V. iii. 194. 46; VI. 180. 7.
  10. Ibid., VII. i. 23. 31.
  11. Ibid., VII. i. 23. 5. 8.
  12. Ibid., VI. 180. 3.
  13. Ibid., V. iii. 2. 7.
  14. Ibid., V. iii. 2. 5.
  15. Ibid., VI. 180. 3-5.
  16. Ibid., V. iii. 2. 7.
  17. Ibid., VI. 180. 7.



sacrificial posts), and *iṣṭikas* (bricks)<sup>1</sup> etc. A golden image of *Puruṣa* was also required for the purpose.<sup>2</sup>

Wife (*patnī*) also held her place among the functionaries of a ritual, which could not be performed in her absence.<sup>3</sup>

**Brahma-yajña :** Skanda refers to the performance of a sacrifice (*Brahma-yajña*),<sup>4</sup> which throws very interesting as well as important light on the nature of the sacrificial cult. Kumārila had revived the performance of Vedic rites and sacrifices, advocating the *karmamārga*. The account given in the description of *Brahma-yajña* exhibits the developed form of ritualism based on elaborate procedure.<sup>5</sup>

“As *Agni* is the *Purohita* as well as *Hotṛ* priest in the *R̥gveda*, the *Hotṛ* was the most important priest in those days. Later on, with the elaboration of the ritual, the *Purohita*, who was the superintendent or overseer of the sacrifice, became a different priest from the *Hotṛ* and called the *Brāhmaṇa*, to whom the duty of superintending the whole sacrifice was naturally assigned. In the *Śrauta-sūtras* of *Śāṅkhayana*, *Āśvalāyana*, and *Kātyāyana*, the list of priests is as follows :—

The *Hotṛ*, *Potṛ*, *Neṣṭṛ*, *Agnidhra*, the *Adhvaryu*, the *Brahman* and the *Upavakṛ* (who appears in place of the *Praśāstr* in the otherwise identical list in the *R̥gveda*) and the *Acchāvaka* who is later admitted to a share in the *Soma*). Another passage of the *Kātyāyana Śrauta-Sūtra* (x. 8. 8ff) gives another list—the *Hotṛ*, two *Adhvaryus*, two *Praśāstrs*, *Brahman*, *Potṛ*, *Neṣṭṛ*, and *Agnidhra*”.<sup>6</sup> “Usually four priests are enumerated viz., *Hotṛ*, *Adhvaryu*, *Brahman*, and *Udgātṛ*; each of them has three companions or helpers so that the total number is sixteen, viz., *Hotṛ*, *Maitravaruṇa*, *Acchāvaka*, *Grāvastut*; *Adhvaryu*, *Pratiprasthātṛ*, *Neṣṭṛ*, *Un-netṛ*; *Brahman*, *Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin*, *Agnidhra*,

1. Sk., VI. 180. 14-17.

2. Ibid., VI. 180. 18.

3. Ibid., VI. 181. 33-54, 68; VI. 182. 1.

4. Ibid., Chap. CLXXX of *Nāgara Khaṇḍa* (VI).

5. Ibid., VI. 180. 38.

6. VA., p. 503.



Potr; Udgatr, Prastotr, Pratihart, Subrahmanya (Āśvalāyana Śrauta-Sūtra, IV. i. 4-6)".<sup>1</sup>

Skanda also gives us a list of sixteen<sup>2</sup> learned priests required for proper performance of the ritual. Their knowledge and qualifications were examined by Brahmā, before they were appointed to perform ṛtvik-karma.<sup>3</sup> They were—

- ( i ) Bhṛgu as hautra (hotṛ) i. e. the priest who offers oblations to gods.
- (ii) Cyavana as Maitrāvaruṇa (one of the officiating priests).
- (iii) Marici as Acchāvaka (a co-adjutor of Hotṛ).
- (iv) Gālava as Grāvaḥ (according to S. V. text).
- (v) Pulastya as Adhvaryu.
- (vi) Atri as Prasthātṛ.
- (vii) Raibhya as Neṣṭṛ.
- (viii) Sanātana as Un-netṛ.
- ( ix ) Nārada as Brahman.
- ( x ) Garga as Brāhmaṇacchanśiḥ.
- ( xi ) Bhāradvāja as Agnīdhra.
- (xii) Paraśara as Hotṛ (who recites the prayers of the Ṛgveda at a sacrifice).
- (xiii) Gobhila as Udgatr.
- (xiv) Kauthūma as Prastotr.
- ( xv ) Śaṇḍilya as Prati-hartṛ.
- (xvi) Aṅgīrā as Subrahmanya<sup>4</sup> (one of the sixteen priests).

Thus we notice an elaborate system of ritualism based on the Sūtras<sup>5</sup>.

1. MSED., p. 224.

2. Sk., VI. 180. 20. 29. 37.

3. Ibid., VI. 180. 30.

4. Ibid., VI. 180. 32-36.

5. cf. V. A., pp. 502-503.



But Śaṅkara in the guise of a poor beggar with a kapāla in His hand entered the sacrificial hall. Brahmanas thought it to be an inauspicious act and asked Him to go out of the yajña-maṇḍapa. It followed a miracle. The entire hall was filled with the kapālas. Brahmā through the power of meditation came to recognise the personality of Śaṅkara in the guise of a beggar. He offered his respects to the Maheśvara, who denounced envious nature of the Brahmanas. Śiva also got his share and the sacrifice subsequently ended with success.<sup>1</sup> In the course of discussion that ensued between Śaṅkara and the Brahmanas, the former laid stress on charity without which performance of a sacrifice is superfluous.<sup>2</sup> The conclusion of the sacrifice was followed by strange stories relating to yajñas as well as other discussions<sup>3</sup> among the Mīmāṃsakas who were engaged in the rational disputations<sup>4</sup>

Thus yajña, an ancient institution of the Āryans tracing its origin in the Tretā-yuga<sup>5</sup> was popular even in the age of the Skanda Purāṇa. The different types of rituals were performed for different purposes, both in individual and communal life. The daily Agnihotras are the domestic fires worshipped by individuals. Similarly, different Iṣṭis like Daśa-pūrṇamāsa etc. had their importance in the worship of a community as a whole. But the material and money needed for the performance of a sacrifice<sup>6</sup> and a large number of the learned priests required for their performance was a difficult task. These difficulties favoured an atmosphere of revolt against the Vedic rituals. In the age under review, as has been pointed out above, the re-establishment of the Vedas and Vedic religion, specially the Karma-kāṇḍa, was supported by the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā school of philosophy. However we notice again a reaction and a revolt against these rituals headed by the Uttara-mīmāṃsā school. The former was championed by Kumārila and the latter by Śaṅkarācārya, who preached Jñāna-mārga, supporting the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu. He stood as a champion of a synthesis

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1. Sk., VI. 182. 9. 67.

2. Ibid., VI. 182. 14-15.

3. Ibid., VI. 182. 68-69, 71-72.

4. Ibid., VI. 182. 70.

5. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 19.

6. Ibid., VII. i. 75. 12.



between the different faiths and modes of worship. This synthesis and a spirit of tolerance is exhibited in the study of the Skanda Purāṇa.

**Defects of the Ritualism**—The performance of rituals required a large amount of money (*kiṁ yajñair bahuvittāḍhyaiḥ*),<sup>1</sup> and a number of learned priests. The *yajña-vidhāna*<sup>2</sup> with a slightest mistake brought fruitlessness (*vyarthatām*) like the seeds sown in the fallow land.<sup>3</sup>

Animal slaughter<sup>4</sup> involved in their performance was dreadful affair.

Chapter 9 of the Vāsudeva Māhātmya (II. ix) deals with these sacrifices based on animal slaughter. It traces the origin of such sacrifices in the conditions of drought and famine, when people including sages and saints began to take meat after killing wild and domesticated animals. The sages suffering from the pangs of hunger began to interpret Vedas in the opposite manner and thus according to them the terms like 'aja' etc. began to denote goats etc. They asked Brāhmaṇas to perform sacrifices, for violence associated with the performance of the Vedic rituals was not to be deprecated.<sup>5</sup> Thus they stimulated animal-slaughter :

Yā vedavihitā himsā na sā himsasti doṣadā,  
Uddīśya devān pitṛiṣca tato ghnat paśūñchubhān.<sup>6</sup>

Consequently animal-sacrifices like Gomedha, Narmedha and Aśvamedha etc. increased. But Ekāntika-bhaktas of Hari did not follow this path.<sup>7</sup>

Evidently, thus the animal slaughter (*paśu-hirṣanām*),<sup>8</sup> was the greatest evil associated with religion of the ritualism, though Brāhmaṇas

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1. Sk., V. ii. 53. 45.

2. Ibid., VI. 199. 61.

3. Ibid., VI. 199. 63.

4. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 25.

5. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 8-14.

6. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 15.

7. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 16-18.

8. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 30 (i).



or the expounders of this path found an explanation (Chap. 9 of II. ix) for it. But the faith in such sacrifices was shaken<sup>1</sup> and it was regarded as a false show of Dharma.<sup>2</sup> It arose in the times of distress. It was regarded as an 'adharmā' which grew so much that the learned persons failed to check it. Its expounders composed many works supporting their faith and this religious upheaval took place, during the Tretayuga.<sup>3</sup>

There were some who praised the merits of the yajñas, but because of the evils associated with them they were not recognised by Nandabhadra,<sup>4</sup> who observes that "By the performance of yajñas one destroys himself and he is led to darkness."<sup>5</sup> Without paying sacrificial fee to the priests and without following the prescribed procedure yajña brings no good.<sup>6</sup> Skanda asserts that if the performance of yajña was necessary, it should not entail killing of animals; only use of pure articles like yava (barley) etc. in the yajña brings merits to yajamān.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of the defects inherent in them the rituals were believed to lead to the attainment of heaven, which was not recognised as the highest goal of human life. Hence, yajñas were deprecated and it was asserted that path of the knowledge leading to the realisation of Brahma should be followed.<sup>8</sup>

### JÑĀNA-KĀṆDA

In Kṛtayuga knowledge leads to Mokṣa.<sup>9</sup> Liberation is assured by means of Brahmajñāna.<sup>10</sup> Mukti cannot be had without the attainment of knowledge and detachment.<sup>11</sup> Hence attachment to body and

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1. Sk., I. ii. 13. 59.
  2. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 25.
  3. Ibid., II. ix. 9. 25-29.
  4. Ibid., I. ii. 45. 11.
  5. Ibid., I. ii. 45. 13.
  6. Ibid., I. ii. 45. 15.
  7. Ibid., I. ii. 45. 16.
  8. Ibid., VI., 194. 60.
  9. Ibid., III. i. 1. 106 (i).
  10. Ibid., III. i. 43. 30.
  11. Ibid., III. i. 43. 31; cf., Bhāgavata P., V. Chaps. 5-14.



senses, opposed to true knowledge should be renounced and animal-slaughter also should be abandoned.<sup>1</sup> Thus knowledge is another name of Param-Brahma, who is realised by practising Vedāntic instructions :—

Jñānam nāma param-Brahma jñānam vedānt-vākyajam.<sup>2</sup>

The true knowledge comes only through the path of renunciation by blessings of the ācārya and by no other means :

tajjñānam viraktasya jāyate netarasya hi.<sup>3</sup>

Skanda thus glorifies 'virakti'<sup>4</sup> (detachment) and Vedānta.<sup>5</sup>

In the deprecation of animal sacrifices and in the glorification of Vedānta we hear the reverberating sound of the great Vedāntist ascetic styled Jagadguru (Śaṅkara).

Vedānta was preached by Śaṅkara who denounced the path of Karma, the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā doctrine of Kumārila based on agnihotra and animal-slaughter. He preached the path of advaita-jñāna,<sup>6</sup> but realised the human weakness in following the high philosophy of Brahma-jñāna based on the Vedānta-Vijñāna.<sup>7</sup> He realised that many orders of Śaiva ascetics followed 'horrible practices'. Such a path of renunciation Śaṅkara denounced, and propogated the true spirit of Saṁnyāsa and yoga closely associated with the name of Śiva (cf. Śaivism padam yat parmārtharūpam kaivalya-sāyujya-karam).<sup>8</sup> Thus the above mentioned path of Śivārādhana is the spiritual aspect of Śaivism against the 'wild and fantastic courses of discipline followed by the other schools of Śaivism.

Māyā<sup>9</sup> (Illusion), 'mithyāvāda' (false-hood, ignorance),<sup>10</sup> attachment

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1. Sk., III. i. 45. 24.
  2. Ibid., III. i. 45. 37.
  3. Ibid., III. i. 45. 38.
  4. Ibid., III. i. 49. 63.
  5. Ibid., III. i. 49. 70.
  6. Ibid., III. i. 49. 70.
  7. Ibid., I. i. 31. 53-68 ff.
  8. Ibid., I. i. 32. 33. (ii).
  9. Ibid., I. i. 31. 45.
  10. Ibid., I. i. 31. 46.



and vices leading to mutual conflicts<sup>1</sup> reflect upon the religious life of India when Śaṅkarācārya appeared on the scene to dispell the dark clouds of illusion and ignorance. Knowledge is described as a source of healthy atmosphere based on equality<sup>2</sup> (cf. yoga—samatvam yogam-ucyate, Bhagavadgītā). It destroys māya and then the growth of detachment brings Supreme-good.<sup>3</sup> Śaṅkara propogated the path of knowledge followed by the ṛṣis engaged in jñānābhyāsa.<sup>4</sup> Śaṅkara deprecated mahāmāyā.<sup>5</sup> By the teachings of Śaṅkara, Yama became enlightened (buddho bhūtvā Yamaḥ sākṣad ātmabhūto' bhavat-tadā).<sup>6</sup> Skanda further glorifies Śiva-bhakti along with the true knowledge.<sup>7</sup> Śaṅkara exclaimed :

Ye pāpino hy adharmiṣṭha loka-saṁhāra kārakāḥ,  
pāṣaṇḍa-vāda saṁyuktā vadhyās te mama caiva hi.<sup>8</sup>

Here we observe the deprecation of the heretics who were to be destroyed.

Just before the age of the Skanda Purāṇa, "Kumārila had established the sanctity of the Vedas and the efficacy of Vedic ritual, both of which were denied by Buddhism. In fact he destroyed Buddhism in India by his philosophical writings".<sup>9</sup> The passage of Śaṅkara-digvijaya quoted by Śrī C, V. Vaidya proves that even Śaṅkara acknowledged it by saying. "I know you are Guha or the God Kārtikeya incarnated on earth for the purpose of destroying the Buddhists who had opposed

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1. Sk., I. i. 31. 48.

2. Ibid., I. i. 31. 54.

3. Ibid., I. i. 31. 55-56 ff.

4. Ibid., I. i. 31. 68.

5. Ibid., I. 31. 74-75.

6. Ibid., I. i. 31. 77.

7. Ibid., I. i. 32. 22, Here we find a Śaiva-king engaged in meditation on Śiva (I. i. 32. 21. 32). Kāla (Death) was destroyed by Śiva to rescue his devotee from his clutches (I. i, 32. 36-40).

Ibid., I. i. 32. 80-95.

8. Ibid., I. i. 32. 51 (i-ii).

9. H. M. H. I., Vol. II (Poona 1924), p. 207.



the religion of the Vedas".<sup>1</sup> But the Skanda Purāṇa gives credit for destroying the Buddhists to the learned 'Jagadguru' i. e. Śaṅkarācārya and not to Kumārila.

yayā viṣṭaḥ samujjahre vedān kūrmo jagadguruḥ.  
anayaviṣṭa dehaśca Budho Bauddhaṇ haniṣyati.<sup>2</sup>  
kotiśo vedamārgasya dhvaṁsakān papakarmīṇaḥ.<sup>3</sup>

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, discussing the role of Kumārila and Śaṅkara observes that "Śaṅkara was the greater thinker, ..... he regarded Buddhism as Hinduism's chief enemy".<sup>4</sup> Thus "the great Kumārila and the still greater, Śaṅkara lived and taught.....the former restating the principles of Vedic exegesis and upholding the religion of sacrifice, the latter expounding the fundamentals of monistic Vedānta....."<sup>5</sup>

Thus this reference to Jagadguru-Budha, who is mentioned here as an annihilator of heretics particularly the Buddhists seems to be none else than the great Śaṅkarācārya.

### ŚAIVISM

"The roots of Śaivism.....can be traced to pre-Vedic or proto-historic religion of the country..... The beginnings of the cult can be traced back to the period of the early Indus Valley Civilisation..... Thus the pre-Vedic cult deity has been conveniently dubbed.....as proto-Śiva..... The next important constituent of the central deity of the creed was the Vedic god Rudra..... These Proto-Śiva and Rudra elements of earlier times were further supplemented by the many allied god-concepts of later times.....".<sup>6</sup>

Dr. J. N. Banerjea observes that "Inscriptional data from which the early history of this cult.....can be reconstructed are very few. But.....what we do not find in inscriptions, we find in coins....."

1. H. M. H. I. Vol. II (Poona 1924), p. 207.

2. Sk., I. ii. 47. 13.

3. Ibid., I. ii. 47. 14 (i).

4. H. S. I. (1955), p. 410.

5. Ibid., p. 5.

6. PTR., p. 63-64



Śiva is usually represented on coins in three forms, phallic, theriomorphic (as a bull) and anthropomorphic.<sup>1</sup>

**Liṅga-Worship**—"The worship of Śiva in his phallic emblem is very old. The phallic symbols of the early Indus Valley sites, and their association with the contemporary cult of Proto-Śiva.....had something to do with the Śiva-liṅga worship of the historic period..... There are two verses in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad (IV. 11 and V. 2) which describe the god Iṣana as presiding over every yoni and over all forms and yonis, in which R. G. Bhandarkar found the remote possibility of an allusion to the physical fact of the Liṅga and Yoni connected together".<sup>2</sup> Numismatic and sculptural evidences prove that the Liṅga-worship was popular in the early centuries of the Christian era.<sup>3</sup> Inscriptions also support it.<sup>4</sup>

Mahabharata also contains references to Śiva-liṅga worship.<sup>5</sup> Pāṇini refers to Śarva, Rudra and Mṛḍa as the names of divinities<sup>6</sup> which represent the names of Śiva (cf. the names of Śiva given by us). Bhavāṇī, Śarvāṇī, Rudrāṇī, and Mṛḍāṇī are also mentioned by him.<sup>7</sup> According to the Skanda Purāṇa, Pāṇini is stated to have propitiated Lord Śiva by performing penances before he obtained proficiency in Grammar.<sup>8</sup> It reflects the antiquity of Śiva-worship.

Skanda asserts that those, who desire to be free from worldly existence, should worship Mahādeva in the form of Liṅga. There is no god superior to Śiva in bestowing pleasure (in the world) and liberation<sup>9</sup> (from the worldly ties). Liṅga represents one Infinite Soul.<sup>10</sup> Hence

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1. PTR p. 75 (for details cf. pp. 75-78).
  2. Ibid., p. 78.
  3. Ibid., pp. 79-81.
  4. IEG., pp. 170, 171, 286, 314.
  5. Ibid., pp. 81-82, C.W.R.G.B., Vol. IV. pp. 160-164.
  6. PKB., p. 349; Dr. Agrawal takes them as the representations of Fire (PKB., p. 350).
  7. Ibid., p. 350.
  8. Sk., I. iiiu. 2. 68. PKB., p. 15.
  9. Sk.; I. i. 19. 72.
  10. Ibid., I. i. 20. 9.



Liṅga is an exalted symbol of Śiva worshipped<sup>1</sup> by the people. Thousands of Brāhmaṇas are mentioned to be engaged in Liṅga-pūjā muttering the Śatarudriya maṅtra at Kāśī.<sup>2</sup> These Brāhmaṇas were Pāśupatas-observing Pāśupata-vrata in worshipping Śiva.<sup>3</sup> Brahmā is also mentioned to have worshipped Śiva in the form of a Liṅga<sup>4</sup> followed by a prayer recited by him<sup>5</sup>. He was also worshipped by Viṣṇu and Indra in the form of a Liṅga,<sup>6</sup> which was also worshipped on the river Narmadā.<sup>7</sup> Maheśvara was to be adored after taking bath in the Narmadā.<sup>8</sup> Worship of Śiva on the river-bank (of Narmadā) is highly praised.<sup>9</sup> Three hundred and thirtythree Śiva-tīrthas are placed on the bank of the river Narmadā.<sup>10</sup> Avanti-kṣetra, comprising the celebrated Mahākāla-vana, comprised hundreds of Liṅga-shrines of Śiva mentioned in the three sub-sections of the Avantikhaṇḍa (V). Section two (V. ii), styled Caturāśītiliṅga Māhātmyaṁ, describes the greatness of the eightyfour Liṅgas set up in the Mahākāla-vana. These Liṅgas were adored with devotion.<sup>11</sup> Lakuṭīśa ('the holder of a Lakuṭa' i. e. a club), founder of the Pāśupata system,<sup>12</sup> himself went to Mahākāla-vana from his abode at Kāyāvarohāṇa and set up a Liṅga called Kāyāvarohāṇeśvara<sup>13</sup>—Deva Kāyāvarohāṇa<sup>14</sup> who was to be worshipped.<sup>15</sup>

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1. Liṅga P., I. 73. 5.9.
  2. Sk., IV. ii. 64. 6-7; Watters, II. p. 47—Yuan Chwang mentions "Deva-temples.....above 100, and there were more than ten thousand professed adherents of the sects, the majority being devotees of Śiva.....".
  3. Sk., IV. ii. 64. 10.
  4. Ibid., IV. ii. 73. 100.
  5. Ibid., IV. ii. 73. 101-141.
  6. Ibid., V. iii. 8. 43.
  7. Ibid., V. iii. 8. 46 (ii).
  8. Ibid., V. iii. 8. 55.
  9. Ibid., V. iii. 11. 20 (ii)-23.
  10. Ibid., V. ii. 231. 10.
  11. Ibid., V. ii. 84. 57-60.
  12. CWRG. IV. p 166.
  13. Sk., V. II. 82. 49-55.
  14. Ibid., V. ii. 82. 56 (i), 59 (i).
  15. Ibid., V. ii. 82. 56-62.



Nāgara khaṇḍa (VI) opens with a question asked by the sages as to why Liṅga of Hara is worshipped? In answer, Skanda describes the story of 'Liṅgotpatti' (Chap. I, VI). The chapter ends with the observations that Śiva-liṅga should always be worshipped.<sup>1</sup> The story is also given in the Liṅga-Purāṇa<sup>2</sup> the Kūrma-Purāṇa,<sup>3</sup> the Vāyu-Purāṇa<sup>4</sup> the Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa<sup>5</sup> and the Śiva-Purāṇa.<sup>6</sup> All these versions of the story of 'Liṅgodbhava' found in the different Purāṇas uphold the importance of Śiva-liṅga worshipped by the ancient sages of Dāruvana.

Prabāsa with its Liṅga-shrine called Someśa-Someśvara or Somanātha had been very sacred region and the entire Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa with its four sub-sections viz., Prabhāsakhaṇḍa (VII. i). Vastrāpatha Kṣetra-Mahātmya (VII. ii). Arbuda Khaṇḍa (VII. iii) and Dvārakā khaṇḍa (VII. iv) reflects upon us the Abu-region (Arbudāranya), Saurāṣṭra, Kathiawar and Gujarāta, which enjoyed the patronage of the Cālukyas of Gujrāta and the Paramāras of Mālavā, embellished with the magnificent shrines dedicated to Śiva. Of all the shrines in this region Somanātha stood with all its majesty like Meru called Prāsadarāja. Skanda states that the famous sage Mārkaṇḍeya stayed there worshipping the Lord at Prabhāsa.<sup>7</sup> Similarly Bharadvāja, Marīci, Uddālaka, Kratu, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, Bhṛgu, Dakṣa, Śavarṇī, Yama, Aṅgiras, Śuka, Vibhāṇḍaka, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, Gobhila, Gautama, Ṛcika, Agastya, Śaunaka, Nārada, Jamadagni, Viśvāmitra, Lomaśa and other eminent sages were engaged there in worshipping the Liṅga.<sup>8</sup> Many accomplished sages (siddhas) lived there worshipping Śiva.<sup>9</sup> Hundreds of Śiva-liṅgas, generally named after the founder with the suffix 'īśvara', were set up

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1. Sk., VI. i. 69; Liṅga P., I. 73. 5-11; Kūrma P., II. 32.
  2. Liṅga P., I. i. 24 (ii) : Vakṣye liṅgodbhavam śubham.  
Ibid., I. 29. 1-38; I. 31. 1-46; I. 32. 1-23.
  3. Kūrma P. (Calcutta Edn.), Uttarabhāga, Chapter XXXVIII.
  4. Vāyu P., I. i. 97 (i): Liṅgodbhava-kathā punyā; I. Chap. LV.
  5. BMD., II, Chap. 27.
  6. Śiva P., IV., Chapter XII.
  7. Sk., VII. i. 5. 5-6.
  8. Ibid., VII. i. 5. 7-10.
  9. Ibid., VII. i. 5. 17.



and adored in this region. Maharṣis, Pāśupatas and Aghoras are stated to have attained the abode of bliss by worshipping Liṅgas here.<sup>1</sup>

While describing the Svāyambhuva Liṅga, Gopinath Rao refers to damage caused by the 'Tulushkas' (same as Turuṣkas) mentioned by Nigamajñānadeva son of Vāmadevaśivācārya. "In one of the inscriptions.....which is dated 1335-36 A.D., it is said that Turukkar invaded sometime previously and caused ruin to the country and that the pūjā in Śiva temple at Tiruvamattur was suspended for want of funds..... to revive pūjas..... Rājanārāyaṇa constructed a gopura in the Aruṇācaleśvara temple at Tiruvannamalai, sitting in this gopura, Vāmadeva wrote the original and commentary of the *Jīṇoddhāradaśaka*. Hence, the invasion and the havoc caused to the temples by the Mussalamans under Malik Kafur.....were fresh in the mind of the author, who, therefore, includes in the term 'ripavaḥ', the 'Tulushkas'.<sup>2</sup>

Gopinath Rao adds : "In fact, a Svāyambhuva Liṅga is considered so sacred that it is above all the rules laid down in the Āgamas for the other classes of Liṅgas. If such indeed be the superiority of the Svāyambhuva Liṅgas over others, it is no wonder that every village claims the "Svāyambhuva nature for the Liṅga set up in its temple. Sixtyeight places, which are situated in various parts of India, are said to possess Svāyambhuva Liṅgas and a list of these places, is given in the commentary on his *Jīṇoddhāra-daśakam* by Nigamajñānadeva of Vyāghrapura, son of Vāmadevaśivācārya".<sup>3</sup> This list of sixtyeight Svāyambhuva Liṅgas is identical with a similar list of sixtyeight tīrthas mentioned in the *Skanda Purāṇa*<sup>4</sup> (to be dealt with in the Chapter on Tīrthas). This list of 68 tīrthas comprising Śiva-shrines shows the popularity of Śiva-cult in the different parts of India. The terror caused by the Kali<sup>5</sup> reflects the dark clouds of distress that had gathered with the advent of Turuṣkas.

Thus we see that *Purāṇas* give valuable information regarding Śiva

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1. Sk., VII. i. 130. 8-9.

2. EHI., Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 81.

3. Ibid., Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 82; for list, pp. 83-85.

4. Sk., VI. 108, 1, 3, 21 (ii), 27-40; VI. 109. 5-22.

5. Ibid., VI. 108. 4.



and Śaivism. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa Śiva championed His devotee, Baṇasura against Kṛṣṇa.<sup>1</sup> It refers to eleven Rudras.<sup>2</sup> Mārkaṇḍeya refers to eight Rudras.<sup>3</sup> Vāyu is called Śiva on account of its treatment of Śiva-bhakti<sup>4</sup>. . . . . Skanda also mentions Saura Upa-Purāṇa which comprises Śiva-kathā.<sup>5</sup> There is a reference to Māheśvaraṃ, as an Upa-Purāṇa.<sup>6</sup> Liṅga Purāṇa deals with Liṅga-Māhātmya<sup>7</sup> and Pāśupata-yoga<sup>8</sup> etc. Śiva Purāṇa, which is associated with the Skanda Purāṇa,<sup>9</sup> contains important data relating to Śiva-cult in its seven Saṃhitas. Skanda states that Śiva is praised in the eighteen Purāṇas.<sup>10</sup> Aruṇācala Māhātmya (I. iii) refers to Śiva-jñānaṃ, as the essence of the Vedas taught by Jagadguru.<sup>11</sup> It also describes Śiva-yogaṃ,<sup>12</sup> Śiva-bhaktiḥ<sup>13</sup> and Śaivāni-liṅgāni<sup>14</sup> etc. Śuddha-jñānaṃ is stated to be based on the worship of Śiva.<sup>15</sup> There is no rest without attainment of the true knowledge.<sup>16</sup> Chapter 2 (I. iiiu) describes Śiva-kṣetras. The Kumārikā Khaṇḍa (I. ii) opens with the account of five celebrated tīrthas placed on the Southern Sea—Kumareśa, Stambheśa, Barkareśvara, Mahākala and Siddheśa.<sup>17</sup> The Setu Khaṇḍa (III. i) deals with

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1. Viṣṇu P., V. 33. 36-46.

2. Ibid., I. 15. 123-125.

3. Mārkaṇḍeya (SV. Edn.), XLIX. 2-7.

4. Sk., V. iii. 1. 33.

PRHRC., p. 14.

5. Sk., V. iii. 1. 46.

6. Ibid., V. iii. 1. 51 (ii).

7. Liṅga P., I. 1. 11 (i).

8. Ibid., II. 55. 33.

9. cf. "Iti śrī Skanda mahapurāṇa Sanatkumāra-saṃhitāyaṃ Śiva-purāṇa-māhātmya" mentioned at the end of the Chapters I, II, III, IV, V, etc.

10. Sk., I. i. 1. 13.

11. Ibid., I. iii.p. 1. 8.

12. Ibid., I. iii.p. 1. 18 (ii).

13. Ibid., I. iiip. 1. 19-20.

14. Ibid., I. iiip. 1. 9.

15. Ibid., I. iiu. 1. 9-12

16. Ibid., I. iiu. 2. 5 (ii).

17. Ibid., I. ii. 1. 13.



glorification of Rāmeśvaraṃ and other Liṅgas set up on the Southern Sea in its neighbourhood. The Kāśī-Khaṇḍa, Avanti-Khaṇḍa, Nāgara-Khaṇḍa and Prabhāsa-Khaṇḍa deal with Liṅgas of Kāśī, Avanti (Mālavā), Ānartta and Saurāṣṭra respectively. Kedāra-Khaṇḍa section of the Māheśvara Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa is styled Śiva-śāstra.<sup>1</sup> Śiva-karma required for the observance of Śiva-bhakti is described by Śiva-śāstra.<sup>2</sup> Śaivāgamas are twenty-eight in number<sup>3</sup> and they (Śiva-gamas)<sup>4</sup> represent Śiva-saṃhita.<sup>5</sup> Thus the Skanda Purāṇa is an important source for the study of Śaivism.

**Names of Śiva :** Śiva is known by various names like Līlā-Vilāsaḥ (I. ii. 8. 35), Śaśi-śekhara (I. ii. 8. 71), Sadā-Śiva (I. iii.p. 1. 59), Īśvara (III. iii. 1. 5), Maheśa (III. iii. 2. 3), Parameśa (III. iii. 2. 6), Girijapati (III. iii. 3. 143), Manmathari (III. iii. 3. 164), Śiva (III. iii. 5. 1), Pārvatīśa (III. iii. 6. 10), Umāpati, Trinetra, Candra-śekhara (III. iii. 7. 12), and Śarva (I. i. 1. 15), Śūlapāṇi (I. i. 18. 50), Śaśibhūṣaṇa (VII. i. 18. 17), Śarabha-rūpa (VII. i. 24. 115), Nīla-lohita (V. i. 2. 29), Mahākāla (V. i. 2. 73), Kāpālī (V. i. 2. 75), Śaṅkara (V. i. 2. 74), Śaṃbhu (V. i. 6. 41), Maheśāna (IV. i. 7. 8), Trilocana (VI. 152. 26), Tryambaka (VI. 153. 28), Gaṅgādhara (VII. iii. 61. 1), Hara (IV. i. 47. 3), Rudra (V. iii. 65. 2), Vṛṣavāhana (V. iii. 65. 4), Bhairava (V. iii. 65. 5), Luṅkeśvara (V. iii. 67. 1), Mahāyogī (V. iii. 8. 42), Ardhanārīśvara (I. ii. 62. 2), Yoginātha (V. iii. 78. 5), Lakuleśvara (V. iii. 173. 68), Mṛḍa Mṛgamadeśvara (I. iiip. 9. 5), Naṭaneśvara (I. iiip. 9. 7), Mahādeva, Tripurāntaka, Yogīśa Bhogaṇāyaka (I. iiip. 9. 8), Girīśvara, Bharga (I. iiip. 9. 9), Smarāntaka, Āndhaka-ripu, Siddhārāja, Digambara, Āgamapriya, Īśāna, Śrīpati, Nāgabhūṣaṇa (I. iiip. 9. 11), Virūpākṣa (I. iiip. 9. 12), Paśupati (I. iiip. 9. 15), Dhūrjati (I. ii. 13. 193), Pinākī, Kāla-Rudra (I. i. 1. 1). These names are suggestive of His iconographic features, mythological stories and his various functions. Of these Śarabha-rūpa, which He assumed to subdue Nṛsiṃha is very interes-

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1. Sk., I. i. 35. 64.

2. Ibid., I. i. 32. 92.

3. Ibid., I. iii. 16. 45.

4. Ibid., II. i. 30. 33.

5. Ibid., I. iii. 16. 50.



ting. Similarly Lakuleśvara, with a Śaiva sect following Lakulīśa,<sup>1</sup> is very important.

The recitation of His names<sup>2</sup> brings 'mukti' as well as the fulfilment of all desires.<sup>3</sup>

**Important myths about Śiva :** Our text mentions several stories connected with the Śaiva-cult (Śivārcana kathākramah)<sup>4</sup> and they have been repeated frequently. The space here does not permit us to describe these mythological stories; they may be only referred to by their titles :—

(1) The story of 'Dakṣa's yajña-dhvaṅsa,<sup>5</sup> or 'Satī-deha-visarjana.' It is very often mentioned in the Puraṇa. It is a very popular episode and needs no elaboration here. The sacrifice was performed at Kana-khala, (District Saharanpur, U. P.). "It is obviously intended to intimate a struggle between the worshippers of Śiva and of Viṣṇu".<sup>6</sup>

(2) 'Līṅga-pūjana-mahātmyam' (VI, Chap. 1).

(3) 'Gaṅgā-āgamanam' (VI, Chap. 2).

(4) 'Śiva-pārvatī vivāham' (VI, Chap. 77) (The scene is sculptured at Elephanta).<sup>7</sup>

(5) 'Kāmasya dahanam' (I.i.1. 18).

(6) The story dealing with the chastisement of Narasiṃha by Śiva in the form of Śarabha (I.i.16.17.).

(7) Akṣakriḍā of Śiva and Paravatī (Sk., II.iv.10.2-20) (cf. its representation in Ellora sculptures, 'Kailāsa temple').

(8) Origin of Narmadā from the sweat of Rudra, while He was performing the great penance (V.iii.4.16,17).

1. IEG., p. 170 (cf. EI. 15).

2. Sk., I. iiip. 9. 41.

3. Ibid., I. iiip. 3. 4.

4. Ibid., I. iiip. 3. 5; I. ii. 34. 32; I. iiip. 9. 42; III. iii. 1. 5.

5. Ibid., I. i., Chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

6. Viṣṇu P., Eng. Trans., Wilson, p. 53, for further discussion cf., pp. 53-60.

7. HFIC, Plate 52, figure B.



(9) The story of Nilakaṇṭha who held toe poison in his throat (I.i.20.38,39).

(10) The story of Śiva cutting the fifth head of Brahmā.

**Śiva-pūjā**—Maheśārādhanaṁ with great devotion brings long life, victory, health, pleasure and liberation.<sup>1</sup>

This is the greatest good, sanctioned by all the scriptures, which is the worship of Parameśa with devotion; and it is deemed to be a great bliss.<sup>2</sup> Śiva is the preceptor, god and friend of human beings and He represents jīva as well as Ātman, there is nothing beyond Śiva.<sup>3</sup> One, who worships, Śiva, is liberated from all the bonds.<sup>4</sup> Thus a man, Cāṇḍāla, Pulkasa<sup>5</sup>, woman, or eunuch, attains release through Śiva-bhakti.<sup>5</sup>

Lomaśa, the celebrated disciple of Vyāsa, was asked by the sages to give a detailed account of Śiva-dharma (Śiva-dharmaṁ savistaraṁ).<sup>6</sup> They further requested him to describe--

(1) his worship and meditation.<sup>7</sup>

(2) the merits of the following religious rites in course of Śiva-pūjanam viz., (a) 'sammārjana' (sweeping)

(b) the offering of mirror, cāmara, vitana, dharaṅgrha, dīpa, and pūjā,

(c) study of Itihāsa Purāṇa, and Vedas in front of Śiva (temple).<sup>8</sup>

These are the popular acts by which Śiva can be pleased.

After destroying the pride and conceit of Dakṣa, Brahmā prayed

1. Sk., III. iii. 2.3.

2. Ibid., III iii, 2.6.

3. Ibid., III i i, 5.1,

4. Ibid., III. iii. 5.4.

5. Ibid., III. iii. 2. 131.

6. Ibid., I. i. 1. 5.

7. Ibid., I. i. 1. 6.

8. Ibid., I. i. 1. 7-8.



to Śiva and asked for his forgiveness. Dakṣa, too, getting a new life felt remorse and bowed to the Lord praying in many ways. Śiva, pleased with Dakṣa's prayers., said that He was worshipped by four classes of devotees viz., those who afflicted, inquisitive, and desirous of some objects as well as by the enlightened people. of these, sages are to be regarded as most exalted among the devotees of Śiva, for only ignorant people aspire to attain the Śaivite bliss without having a vision of the truth. The performance of rites alone cannot lead across the ocean of worldly existence. Stupefied by the rites, people cannot attain Śiva who is equally beyond the reach of the Vedas (Vedic study), charity and austerity. Hence rites and pious acts can bring bliss and beatitude, only when these are accompanied with true knowledge of an ascetic (yogin), treating happiness or misery alike.<sup>1</sup> Dakṣa thus realised the true knowledge (bodhamupagataḥ) and performed penances meditating upon Śiva<sup>2</sup>. As the path of Yoga, jñāna, and asceticism was difficult, Lomaśa propagated the path of devotion to Śiva (Sivabhakti) based on the following acts:-

- (1) sweeping the court-yard of a Śiva-temple (Sammarjanam... Śivaṅgane) (Sk., I. i. 5. 49),
- (2) offering darpaṇa (mirror) (Sk., I. i. 5. 50),
- (3) offering cāmara (Sk., I. i. 5. 51.),
- (4) dipadanam, offering of light and lamp (Sk., I. i. 5. 52),
- (5) dhūpa (incense) (Sk., I. i. 5. 53),
- (6) naivedya (offerings) (Sk., I. i. 5. 54), as well as
- (7) the repairing of damaged Śiva-temple (Sk., I. i. 5. 55).

The act of building, new temples with bricks or stones (Sk., I.i.5.56) was also considered to be a meritorious work. The building of many storeyed Śiva-temple brought salvation.<sup>3</sup> Equally fruitful was to get a temple white-washed (dhavalitam).<sup>4</sup> The construction of vitāna<sup>5</sup> and tying of bell<sup>6</sup> were also regarded as acts of piety.

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1. Sk., I. i. 1. 39-43.
  2. Ibid., I. i, 1. 47.
  3. Ibid., I. i. 5. 57.
  4. Ibid., I. i. 5. 58.
  5. Ibid., I. i. 5. 59.
  6. Ibid., I. i. 5. 60.



- (8) visit to Śiva-temple (Sk., I. i. 5. 61).  
 (9) the muttering (japa)<sup>1</sup> or the recitation<sup>2</sup> of the names of the deity with reverence e.g. 'Hara Hareti'.<sup>3</sup> Śiva is pleased even by the offerings of leaves, flowers, fruits or pure water.<sup>4</sup> Such is the simplicity of Śiva-bhakti.

But the first act in the Śiva-pūjā is stated to be abhiṣeka with fresh water, followed by the offering of 'gandha' (scent), 'akṣata', 'patra', 'kusuma', 'dhūpa', 'dīpa', 'citābhasma', and 'naivedya',<sup>5</sup> Dancing, instrumental music and singing are also to be performed in front of a Śiva (temple).<sup>6</sup> One should receive the prasāda respectfully bowing low in front of the deity.<sup>7</sup> It is a general from of Śiva-worship—

eṣā sadharaṇaḥ proktaḥ Śiva-pūjā vidhis tava.

(Sk., III. iii. 17.22).

**Śaiva sects**—Skanda refers to many classes of Śaiva devotees like Pāśupatas, 'Kāpālikas, Mahāvratas and Śiva-bhaktas'.<sup>8</sup> These Śaiva-sects are mentioned below :—

- (1) Pāśupatas.<sup>9</sup>  
 (2) Kāpālikas (Kāpālikānam)<sup>10</sup> who observed Kāpālike vows and practices (Kāpālika-vratānvitāḥ)<sup>11</sup>  
 (3) Kālamukhas.<sup>12</sup>  
 (4) Vira-Śaivas (Vira-māheśvaras)<sup>13</sup>

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1. Sk., I. i. 5. 62.  
 2. Ibid., I. i. 5. 86.  
 3. Ibid., I. i. 5. 87.  
 4. Ibid., I. i. 5. 88-89.  
 5. Ibid., III. iii. 17. 19-20.  
 6. Ibid., III. iii. 17. 21.  
 7. Ibid., III. iii. 17. 2.  
 8. Ibid., VI. 29. 40.  
 9. Ibid., I. i. 32. 1; I. iii. 8. 76.  
 10. Ibid., I. i. 32. 2; I. iii. 8. 77.  
 11. Ibid., VI. 65. 6.  
 12. Ibid., I. i. 1. 33.  
 13. Ibid., I. i. 7. 47.



**Pāśupatāḥ**—Pāśupata-dharma is stated to be the best (dharmaḥ pāśuptaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ).<sup>1</sup> It is also described as a system of yoga (paraṁ pāśupataṁ yogaṁ).<sup>2</sup> Pāśupati dikṣā<sup>3</sup> consisted of the muttering of five mantras. "The system mainly deals with five categories, such as (1) effect (kārya), (2) cause (kāraṇa), (3) union (of the individual soul with the supreme soul—yoga), (4) measures (to be adopted by the Pāśupatas for the attainment of righteousness—vidhi) and (5) the cessation of misery (duḥkhānta)."<sup>4</sup>

**Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas**—Kāpālikas are stated to be engaged in the performance of impious acts or heresies (Pāṣaṇḍavāda saṁyukṭa) and likewise, Kālamukhas are also stated to be devoted to drinking.<sup>5</sup> Skanda refers to various types of Kāpālikas,<sup>6</sup> but it does not describe them. Prabodhacandrodaya of Kṛṣṇa Misra condemns Kāpālikas,<sup>7</sup> who were devoted to wine and women.<sup>8</sup>

"The Pāśupata appears to have been the principal Śaiva sect in the Gupta period, and two other Śaiva creeds known as Kāpālika and Kālamukha, almost contemporaneous with it, were its offshoots of an extreme character. The antiquity of the first of the two seems to go back to the seventh century A. D. or even earlier. The worship of Śiva as Kāpāleśvara was prevalent in distant regions of India as the two copper-plate inscriptions, one found at Nirmand (Kangra, District Punjab) and the other at Igatpuri (Nasik District, 'Maharashtra') prove".<sup>9</sup>

The following different classes of Śaivas are also referred to :—

Guhyakāḥ (I. 11. 13. 153).

Marīcipāḥ (I. ii. 13. 161).

1. Sk., I. i. 7. 43.

2. Ibid., I. ii. 34. 73.

3. Ibid., I. ii. 15. 41.

4. PTR., p. 93, for details about these Vidhis see pp. 93-95.

5. Sk., I. i. 1. 33.

6. Ibid., I. i. 32. 2.

7. PBC. p. 114; "Kāpālika.....pāpā pakhaṇḍapasada.

8. Ibid., p. 122, etc.

9. PTR., p. 96.



Phenapaḥ (I. ii. 13. 162 i).

Kapila (I. ii. 13. 162. ii).

Sārasvata (I. ii. 13. 163). and

Vānaprasahāḥ (I. ii. 13. 182).

Five vows or Mahāvratas namely Kāla, Mukha, Kaṅkāla, Śaiva and Pāśupata are also associated with Śaivism.<sup>1</sup> There were many schools of thought among them, but all of them aimed at the attainment of the Eternal Śiva.<sup>2</sup> The five vratas uphold the authority and sanctity of twenty-eight Āgamas which deal with the code of conduct and mode of worship prescribed for Śiva-bhaktas.<sup>3</sup> Brahmacharya must be observed by all those who are engaged in the performance of vratas (vows) particularly the Śaivas. A Pāśupata Śaiva meets his doom by his indulgence with women.<sup>4</sup>

Śiva is generally worshipped in the form of Liṅga. Many temples erected in the honour of the god are mentioned in our text. A devotee, at first, should take bath in fresh water, and then seated upon a sanctified seat, he should offer 'gandha' (scent), 'akṣata' (rice for worship), forest-leaves, flowers, 'dhūpa' and 'dīpa';<sup>5</sup> followed by citā-bhasma (ashes) and 'naivedya' according to his capacity.<sup>6</sup> He should offer 'dhūpa', 'dīpa' and he should perform other upacāras once again followed by dance, music and songs<sup>7</sup> and then he should prostrate himself before the deity and lastly he should take the 'prasāda'.<sup>8</sup> It has been the general form of 'Śiva-pūja'.

Skanda also observes that by putting the mark of Tripuṇḍa and by besmearing the body with 'bhasma' also one obtains beatitude.<sup>9</sup>

1. Sk., I. ii. 11. 65.

2. Ibid., I. ii. 11. 66-67.

3. Ibid., I. ii. 11. 65.

4. Ibid., VI. 43. 6, 7, 9.

5. Ibid., VI. 17. 19.

6. Ibid., VI. 17. 20.

7. Ibid., VI. 17. 21.

8. Ibid., VI. 17. 22.

9. Ibid., III. iii. 16. 34, 38.



The muttering of *pañcakṣarī*<sup>1</sup> (*namaḥ Śivāya*) or *ṣaḍakṣarī*<sup>2</sup> (*Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya*) is held high in the Śaivite cult. "*Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya*", the *ṣaḍakṣara* maṅtra, is fire to destroy the great sins.<sup>3</sup> It may be recited by women, Śūdras and the low-caste people desirous of mukti.<sup>4</sup> It neither requires *dikṣā*, *homa*, *saṁskāra* or *tarpaṇa*, nor it is based on (auspicious) time and instructions.<sup>5</sup> According to the instructions of the preceptor, this formula (maṅtra) muttered in a sacred place brings immediate good. Therefore, this great maṅtra should be practised under the guidance of a good preceptor. As regards the gurus (preceptors), they should be pious, placid, saintly, free from passion and anger, self-controlled and righteous men, speaking little.<sup>6</sup> Skanda tells us that *Durvāsā* gave instructions on Śaivite *pañcakṣarī-vidyā* to *Garga* who is himself acknowledged as one of the great Śaiva teachers. *Garga* initiated king *Dāśārha* in the *Pañcakṣarī Vidyā*.<sup>7</sup> The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* also refers to *Durvāsā* as a portion of *Śaṅkara* (Śiva).<sup>8</sup> "He was son of *Atri* and *Anasūya* and was an incarnation of a portion of Śiva".<sup>9</sup> *Garga* is known to be one of the four pupils of *Lakulin*, founder of a *Pāśupata* system.<sup>10</sup>

The recitation of 'Śatarudrya' and worship of the hundred Liṅgas are mentioned to be acts of great merits.<sup>11</sup>

There are many sacred occasions, days and dates which are held very important for the worship of Śiva. *Pradoṣa*,<sup>12</sup> the fourteenth day

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1. Sk., III. iii. 1. 10.
  2. Ibid., III. iii. 1. 8.
  3. Ibid., III. iii. 1. 19.
  4. Ibid., III. iii. 1. 20.
  5. Ibid., III. iii. 1. 24.
  6. Ibid., III. iii. 1. 25, 26; III. iii. 6. 10.
  7. Ibid., III. iii. 1. 57.
  8. *Viṣṇu P.*, I. 9. 1.
  9. Sk., V. iii. 103, 104-106; *Wilson VP.*, p. 60 footnote J.
  10. *CWRGB.*, Vol. IV, pp. 165, 166.
  11. Sk., I. ii. 13. 198-203, the entire Chapter XIII of I. ii, deals with Śatarudriya Māhatmya.
  12. Ibid., III. i. 2. 131.



of the first fortnight of Māgha,<sup>1</sup> and Monday<sup>2</sup> are such auspicious occasions for the worship of Śiva.

Skanda describes, at length, the Pradoṣa-pūjā. On the thirteenth day of each fortnight a devotee should observe fast and he should wear white clothes after his bath about three ghaṭis before the sunset. Patient, polite and disciplined he should, then, worship Śiva after performing saṁdhyā and 'japa'. The place before the deity should be washed and a maṇḍapa should be prepared there with white cloth decorating it with fruits, flowers, plants and beautiful lotus arranged to figure five letters (namaḥ Śivāya). Then seated on a pure, fixed seat, he should worship Śiva and Mother, Guru and Gaṇapati, Dharma and Adharma etc. followed by prayers to Śiva.<sup>3</sup>

Skanda gives us an exhaustive list of sacred spots associated with the cult of Śiva,<sup>4</sup> covering the entire country and even beyond it (to be dealt in Chapter on Tīrthas). The Skanda Purāṇa also refers to popularity of Śiva-cult in 'Greater India', across the sea.<sup>5</sup> Śambhu established here in the yogapīṭha had all the characteristic iconographic features.<sup>6</sup>

It appears from the study of the Skanda Purāṇa that Śaivism was popular in the country, both among the rich and the poor, high and low, rulers and the ruled. Though certain Śaivite sects preached and practised some undesirable practices, yet they were not followed by the majority of the people. Celibacy, as has been said, was most important element in the code of conduct for Pāśupatas. Violence and animal slaughter were also not liked by the people in general and by ascetics in particular. Śiva-yogis were held in great respect by the society. Garga, Gautama, Jaimini, and Dadhīca are mentioned amongst the famous devotees of Śiva.

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1. Sk., III. iii. 2. 132, 133.
  2. Ibid., III. iii. 8. 9.
  3. Ibid., III. iii. 7. 2-72.
  4. Ibid., I. i. 22. 2-3.
  5. Ibid., III. iii. 52. 7-9; I. iii. 2. 20-82; VI. 52. 9.
  6. Ibid., I. i. 22. 4-5.



## VAIṢṆAVISM

"One of the most important of the Paurāṇic religious systems to emerge in the early stage of their evolutionary and formative period was Vaiṣṇavism. The name is evidently derived from Viṣṇu, primarily the solar god of the Vedas. But it would not mean that the god was really at the root of the Paurāṇic cult which came to be known by this designation at a comparatively late stage of its development. It is one of the latest sections of the Mahābhārata that the term Vaiṣṇava occurs. The author of the section says whatever merit accrues to a person who listens to the 18 Purāṇas, will accrue to a Vaiṣṇava (XVIII. vi. 97)... One of the authoritative Pāñcarātra Saṁhitas, Padma Tantra by name, enumerates .....the different names of the cult .....Sūri, Suhṛt, Bhāgavata, Sātvata, Pāñcakālavit, Ekāntika, Tanmaya and Pāñcaratrika are different designations of this Bhakti cult. It should be noted that the term Vaiṣṇava is conspicuous by its absence.....Varāhamihira also does not use the word Vaiṣṇava, but uses Bhāgavata, to denote this system, and Utpala names Pāñcarātra as its synonym..... Sātvata is one of the several names.....of the tribe to which ....Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa belonged, the two others (Ekāntik and Tanmaya) denoting the devoted attitude of the adherents of the cult".<sup>1</sup> Bhāgavata cult centring round Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is glorified in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Skanda dealing with the glorification of the Bhāgavata (Śrīmad-Bhāgavata-mahātmyam, II. vi) invokes supreme Lord Kṛṣṇa for attainment of the Bhakti-rasa.<sup>2</sup> It refers to the importance of Śrī-mad-bhāgavatam.<sup>3</sup>

There are many paths leading to the place of eternal bliss like piety, knowledge, renunciation and asceticism known from the scriptures; but a desire has always been there in minds of the thinkers to discover the easiest way of attaining the beatitude. Sūta was asked to describe such a way which could deliver the man from the worldly existence without much exertion i. e. to attain mokṣa with the least effort<sup>4</sup> (sukaram-mokṣa-sādhanaṁ).<sup>5</sup>

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1. PTR., pp. 18-19.

2. Sk., II. vi. 1. 1.

3. Ibid., II. vi. 4. 43. 48.

4. Ibid., II. ix. 1. 1-7.

5. Ibid., II. ix. 1. 14 (ii).



## VĀSUDEVA BHAKTI

Rightly there are various religious systems like Sāṁkhya, Jñāna and Yoga etc. but they are very difficult (śuduṣkaraṇi tāni).<sup>1</sup> There is no other way, easier than propitiation of the gods (devatāprīṇanam)<sup>2</sup>. Worship of the gods brings desired objects, hence it should be practised.<sup>3</sup> But there are numerous gods who are worshipped in many ways.<sup>4</sup> Of these Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, the Lord Supreme, is adored by ascetics and commoners with or without desires.<sup>5</sup> And so also He is worshipped by those who can gratify the Lord by their adherence to their own duties.<sup>6</sup> Vāsudeva is to be worshipped by the pious people, whether they are attached to or have renounced the worldly life, for the attainment of 'samyak-siddhi' (complete attainment)<sup>7</sup>

kaivalya-sammata-pathastvatha-bhaktiyogaḥ.<sup>8</sup>

Vāsudeva styled Mahāpuruṣa, Nārāyaṇa Ṛṣi, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa and Bhagavān, the only One God, like our parents', is adored.<sup>9</sup> He is Supreme Lord of universe, worshipped by Brahmā, Sthānu (Śiva), Manu, Dakṣa, Bhṛgu, Dharma, Yama, Marīci, Aṅgiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vaibhṛāja, Vasiṣṭha, Vivasvān, Soma, Kaśyapa, and Kardama, etc.<sup>10</sup> Thus gods, sages and people of different varṇas and āśramas adhering to pravṛtti-dharma, worship Him alone (tameveśam). Similarly other ascetics-naiṣṭhikas-like Sana, Sanat, Sujāta, Sanaka, Sanaṇdana, Sanatkumāra, Kapila, Āruṇi, and Sanātana and Haṁsa, etc. devoted to Nivṛtti-dharma, also worship Him alone (tameva pūjayan-tīśam).<sup>11</sup>

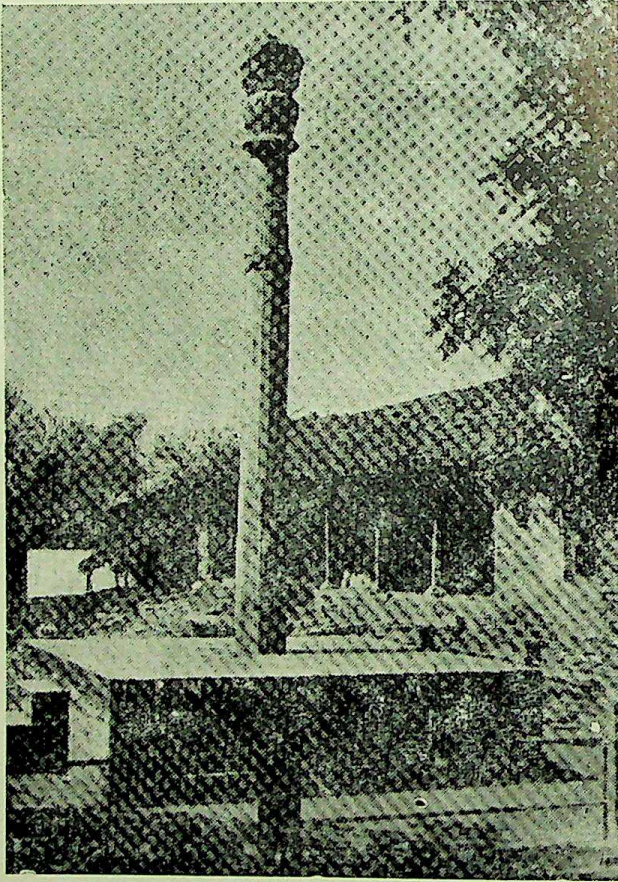
Śiva himself recognised the greatness of Bhagavān Vāsudeva

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1. Sk., II. ix. 1. 10-11.
  2. Ibid., II. ix. 1. 15.
  3. Ibid., II. ix. 1. 19.
  4. Ibid. II. ix. 1. 20; (cf., Bhāgavata P., II. 3. 2-9)
  5. Ibid. II. ix. 2. 11; (Bhāgavata P., II. 3. 10.)
  5. Ibid., II. ix. 2. 12, cf. Śrī Bhagavadgītā.
  6. Ibid., II. ix. 2. 21.
  7. Bhāgavata P., II. 3. 12
  8. Sk., II. ix. 3. 6-7.
  9. Ibid., II. ix. 3. 26-27.
  10. Ibid., II. ix. 3. 29-30.









Garudadhvaja



(Vasudeva jagadguruḥ).<sup>1</sup> The entire universe is permeated with Viṣṇu (sarvaṁ Viṣṇumayaṁ jagat).<sup>2</sup> Viṣṇu is, thus, God of all the gods (Viṣṇuḥ sarveśvareśvaraḥ).<sup>3</sup>

One of the earliest archaeological evidences regarding the worship of Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa in Northern India is, the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus.<sup>4</sup> .....engraved on the shaft of..... Garuḍadhvaja still in situ (Pl. I) at Besnagar (near Vidiśā, M. P.). The inscription refers to Devadeva Vāsudeva and His devotee Bhāgavata Heliodorus as well as to three immortal precepts leading to heaven. Vidiśā was an old seat of the Bhāgavata cult.<sup>5</sup> Mathurā and the surrounding regions (Braja) were closely associated with Kṛṣṇa-cult.<sup>6</sup> The Vedas, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇas, and the Bhārata (the great epic) uphold the absolute supremacy of Hari,<sup>7</sup> who alone is to be worshipped.<sup>8</sup> Vyāsa observes that those, who adore other gods disavowing the Lord Viṣṇu, should be excommunicated by the sages.<sup>9</sup> Vyāsa propounded Pāñcarātram, celebrated work of the Vaiṣṇavas, at Kāśī after worshipping Mādhava (Keśava).<sup>10</sup>

Ikṣvaku king of Kāśī named Kīrtimān, son of Nṛga, also championed the cause of Vaiṣṇavism with great zeal.<sup>11</sup> It shows the popularity and prominence of Vaiṣṇavism, which was based on Pāñcarātra-Mahātānta.<sup>12</sup>

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1. Sk., I. ii. 33. 44.

2. Ibid., VII. ii. 18. 109.

3. Ibid., I. i. 4. 38 (ii), cf. Besnagar Ins. of Heliodorus :

‘Deva devasa-vāsudevasa... PTR., pp. 25-26.’

4. PTR., p. 25.

5. Ibid., pp. 26-77.

6. Ibid., pp. 28-29.

Sk., II. vi. Chaps. 1-4.

7. Sk., IV. ii. 95. 12.

8. Ibid., IV. ii. 95. 11-18.

9. Ibid., IV. ii. 95. 19.

10. Ibid., IV. ii. 95. 29.

11. Ibid., II. vii. 11. 51-57.

12. Ibid., II. ix. 5. 25.



**Viṣṇu-Bhakti**—Hence it is not surprising if Skanda highly eulogises Viṣṇu-bhakti<sup>1</sup> as sole bestower of pleasure in the world of misery and ills.<sup>2</sup> Viṣṇu-bhakti rescues people submerged in the worldly ocean like a boat.<sup>3</sup> Saints have nothing to worry after embracing the motherly refuge of Viṣṇu-bhakti<sup>4</sup> and they feel happy after drinking the ambrosia of Viṣṇu-bhakti.<sup>5</sup> Such is the glory of devotion to Vāsudeva which came to influence the mind and heart of people from about sixth century B. C. onward. It continued so even in the Buddhist India. It attained great heights after the fall of the Mauryas. In early years of the Christian era it remained an important faith among the people. During age of the Imperial Guptas it became a dominant religion and continued so even in the post-Gupta period. The God Hari incarnated on earth for the destruction of 'Daitya-dharma' and for the protection of Veda-dharma (daitya dharmasya naśāya Veda-dharmādi guptaye).<sup>6</sup> Narasiṅha descended upon the earth; He destroyed the demons like Hiranyakaśipu and thus He indicated the Vedic religion.<sup>7</sup>

Viṣṇu-bhakti is the sole cause of happiness to a man wandering in wilderness of the world full of sorrows. The verses may be quoted here in the original :

Caturvarga-phalaḥ bhaktir Viṣṇau nālpatapah phalaṁ,  
Anādyā-vidyā sudṛḍha - pañca - kleśa - vivardhini.

Sk., II. ii. 10. 66.

Ekaiveyaṁ Viṣṇu-bhaktis tad ucchedāya jāyate,  
Bhavarāṇye pratipadaṁ duḥkha saṅkaṭa-saṅkule.

Ibid., II, ii. 10. 67.

Naraṇām bhramatām Viṣṇu-bhaktirekā sukhapradā.

Ibid., II. ii. 10. 68(i).

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1. Sk., II. ix. 3. 34-42; II. ii. 10. 66 (i).
  2. Ibid., II. ii. 10. 68; cf. Bhāgavata P, V, Chapters 13-14 dealing with 'bhavāṭavī.'
  3. Sk., II. ii. 10. 68.
  4. Ibid., II. ii. 10. 69.
  5. Ibid., II. ii. 10. 70.
  6. Garuḍa P., I. 142.1.
  7. Ibid., I. 142. 7.



Here Bhakti is mentioned to be the only cause of destroying sorrows in the world particularly five kinds of pain viz., avidyā, asmitā, rāga, dveṣa, and adhiniveśa :

Avidyāsmītarāgadveṣābhiniveśaḥ pañca-kleśaḥ.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Dasgupta observes : "we have already noticed what was meant by avidyā. It consists generally in ascribing intelligence to buddhi in thinking it as permanent and leading to happiness. This false knowledge while remaining in this form 'further manifests itself in the other four forms of asmitā etc. Asmitā means the thinking of worldly objects and our experiences as really belonging to us—the sense of "mine" or "I" to things that really are the qualities or transformations of guṇas. Rāga means the consequent attachment to pleasures and things. Dveṣa means aversion or antipathy to unpleasant things. Abhiniveśa is the desire for life or love of life—the will to be. We proceed to work because we think our experiences to be our own, our possessions to be our own: because we are attached to these; because we feel great antipathy against any mischief that befall them, and also because we love our life and always try to preserve it against any mischief. These all proceed as is easy to see, from their root avidyā, which consists in the false identification of buddhi with puruṣa. These five, avidyā, asmitā, rāga, dveṣa and abhiniveś permeate our buddhi, and lead us to perform karmas, which lie inherent in the buddhi as a particular mode of it transmigrate with the buddhi from birth to birth and it is hard to get rid of them. . . . . We perform a karma actuated by the vicious tendencies (kleśa) of the buddhi. The karma when thus performed leaves its stain or modification on the buddhi, and it is so ordained "according to the teleology of the prakṛti and the removal of obstacles in the course of its evolution in accordance with it by the permanent will of Īśvara that each vicious action brings sufferance and a virtuous one pleasure". Skanda asserts that this Viṣṇu-Bhakti alone, uproots avidyā and the five-fold affliction. At this stage when all saṃskāras and avidyā being altogether uprooted Viṣṇu-Bhakti alone brings happiness (Viṣṇubhaktir eka sukhapradā) to men wandering in the miseries of the world with confused

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1. Patañjala Yogasūtra, Sādhana-pāda, Sūtra 3.

cf. Sk., II. ii. 10. 66(ii), which refers to pañca kleśaḥ.

2. HIP., Vol. I. P. 267.



mind due to ignorance (bhavāraṇye pratipadam duḥkha saṅkaṭa-saṅkule naraṇām bhramatām).<sup>1</sup> Skanda, again glorifies Viṣṇu-Bhakti like a boat which rescues a man submerged in tumultuous ocean of the worldly life, difficult to be crossed particularly in the absence of any support :

nirālambe dvandva-vāta prodyatesmin sudustare,  
nimagnānām bhavāmbhodhau Viṣṇu-bhaktis tariḥ smṛtā.<sup>2</sup>

Thus it is evident that Viṣṇu-Bhakti alone rescues a man from the worldly life of ills.<sup>3</sup> It is in this context that Skanda defines Bhakti.

**Bhakti and its Characteristics**—Having listened to the glory of Viṣṇu-Bhakti, King Indradyumna expressed his desire to know the nature and characteristics of Viṣṇu-Bhakti.<sup>4</sup> Nārada observes :

“Hear, O sinless king ! with rapt attention, the eternal Viṣṇu-Bhakti mentioned by me in general and in particular. In the destruction of all afflictions and in the attainment of eternal bliss this alone is the sole cause and in consequence of it this is called Bhakti.<sup>5</sup> This is the sāmānya-lakṣaṇam of Bhakti as the destroyer of all sorrows and as the source of eternal joy.<sup>6</sup> Bhakti is also stated to be the primary cause of Hari-Bhakti (Haribhakterapi tathā nidānam bhaktiriṣyate).<sup>7</sup> Bhakti is eulogised as mother of the entire universe. Just as all creatures live resorting to mother (as a retreat or asylum), in the same way all the pious people live by seeking protection from Bhakti.<sup>8</sup> Skanda also glorifies Viṣṇu-Bhakti as mother.<sup>9</sup>

Dealing with the special features of Viṣṇu-Bhakti, Skanda classifies it into two main divisions viz., one possessing attributes and the other

1. Sk., II. ii. 10. 67-68 (i).

2. Ibid., II. ii. 10. 69.

3. Bhāgavata P., I. 2. 14-22; I. 5. 28; I. 7.7 etc.

4. Sk., II. ii. 10. 74-79.

5. Ibid., II. ii. 10. 80 (ii)-82 (i).

6. cf. Bhakti-Rasamṛta-Sindhu of Rūpa Gosvami; Kleśaghñi śubhadā sā.

7. BRN., IV. 28 (ii).

8. Ibid., IV. 29 (ii)-30.

9. Ibid., II. ii. 10. 69 (ii)-70.



without attributes.<sup>1</sup> It is classified into three forms as far as its attributes are concerned (*guṇabheda*) and the fourth form is styled *Nir-guṇa*.<sup>2</sup> Thus we have two broad divisions of *Viṣṇu-Bhakti* viz., *Saguṇa-bhakti* and *Nirguṇa-bhakti*. *Bhakti* inspired by 'kāma-krodha' i. e. lust or anger as well as based on the realisation of some evil motive is styled *Tāmasī-bhakti* while devotion to *Viṣṇu* aimed at the attainment of fame or victory over one's rival or some other worldly objects is called *Rājasī-bhakti*. On the other hand, intense devotion to *Viṣṇu* along with one's adherence to *varṇāśrama-dharma* inspired by the transitory nature of worldly objects and destructible character of worldly emotions as well as based on the attainment of self-realisation is known as *Sāttvikī-bhakti*, which keeps in view the world—its transitory nature—and the Supreme Lord of the world—the Creator.<sup>3</sup> A *sāttvika* devotee does not distinguish between world and the God, between his ownself and the Lord, who is to be pleased by intense devotion and love devoid of any external conditions.<sup>4</sup> Such *bhakti* (where there is no duality) is styled *Advaita Bhakti*; but it is a difficult path which leads to the attainment of *Brahma-pada*. *Rājasī-bhakti* leads to *Indra-loke* and *Tāmasī-bhakti* leads to *Pitṛloka*. It is gradual ascent to the highest peak of bliss; one begins, in this world, his life based on simple way of worldly existence, and passing through the initial stages of devotion and piety he realises the Supreme Lord. Thus adherence to any of the three forms of *Bhakti* gradually leads one to the cherished ideal of liberation.<sup>5</sup> *Viṣṇu* worshipped with devotion brings the fulfilment of desires, hence, one should always adhere to *Viṣṇu-bhakti*. *Hari* can be propitiated by the offering of water.<sup>6</sup> We find, thus, three types of persons who perform different deeds actuated by three qualities of their mind (*tri-guṇas*).<sup>7</sup> *Viṣṇu* causes them to act according to their *guṇas* and *karmas*<sup>8</sup> and their actions also bear fruit according to their own *guṇas*.<sup>9</sup>

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1. Sk., II. vii. 4. 47.

2. Ibid., II. ii. 10. 82 (ii).

3. Ibid., II. ii. 10. 83.

4. Ibid., II. ii. 10. 87. cf. *jagadeva Harir harireva jagat*.

5. Ibid., II. ii. 10. 88-91.

6. Ibid., II. vii. 11. 42-43.

7. Ibid., II. vii. 20. 3-4.

8. Ibid., II. vii. 20. 14.

9. Ibid., II. vii. 20. 16.



Skanda also defines Bhakti as service rendered to Vāsudeva with deep affection (*gāḍha snehena yā sevā sā bhaktir iti giyate*).<sup>1</sup> The etymological meaning of the word bhakti is service derived from the verbal root 'bhaj' (*sevāyam*). From the point of view of service to the Lord, Skanda refers to nine modes of Bhakti.<sup>2</sup> These are :

- (1) śravaṇam i. e. listening of the glory of the Lord,
- (2) kīrtanam i. e. singing of His names and His glorious deeds,
- (3) smṛti i. e. remembrance,
- (4) carāṇa-sevanam i. e. prostration,
- (5) pūjā i. e. worship,
- (6) praṇāma i. e. salutation,
- (7) dāsyam i. e. servitude,
- (8) sakhyam i. e. friendship (affection), and
- (9) ātma-nivedanam i. e. self-surrender.

This is the same as Navadhā-bhaktiḥ.

**Ekāntika-Dharma**<sup>3</sup>—"The principal tenet being preached in the Gītā by Lord Kṛṣṇa to his friend and admirer is his injunction to place his implicit faith and one-souled devotion in him, and to do his own caste and other duties to the best of his ability".<sup>4</sup> Sir R. G. Bhandarkar observes that "In chapter 348 (of Nārayaṇīya Section of the Mahābhārata) this Ekāntika Dharma is represented to be the same as that which was communicated to Arjuna at the beginning of the war. The great savant adds . "This Dharma is associated with the non-slaughter of animals (Ahimsā) and when properly exercised, the Lord Hari is pleased with it. Sometimes one Vyūha or form of the Lord is taught and sometimes two, three or four. Vaiśampāyana winds up by saying that he has thus explained the Ekāntikadharmā".<sup>5</sup> Skanda also speaks of the importance of Ekāntika-dharma in the life of a devotee,

1. Sk., II. ix. 25. 61 (ii).

2. Ibid., II. ix. 25. 62.

3. Ibid., II. ix. 25. 64 (ii), 65 (i).

4. PTR., p. 33.

5. CWRG., Vol. IV, p. 9.



who has to adhere to Kriyā-yoga'.<sup>1</sup> It also upholds the supremacy of Vāsudeva, the most exalted, and the most beneficent recitation of whose name brings mokṣa.<sup>2</sup> Followers of Ekāntika-dharma did not observe the sacrifices based on animal-slaughter.<sup>3</sup>

**Pañcarātra-mārga**—"Bhaṇḍarkar draws our attention to a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII .6.1) where the god Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa is said to have conceived the idea of the Pañcarātra Sattrā (a sacrifice continued for five nights) for obtaining superiority over and pervading all beings. This is undoubtedly a development of the Puruṣa asūkta (RV., X. 90, the seer of which is Nārāyaṇa Himself); but it cannot be clearly connected with the particular cult-name. Schrader finds its distant connection with it. There are also such fanciful interpretations of the terms, as the night, i. e. obscuration, of the five other religious systems (?) or 'the system, cooking or destroying the night, i. e. ignorance, etc. It has also been attempted to connect the name with the five sacraments.....or the five daily observances of the Pañcarātra pūjā viz., abhigamana (going towards the deity), upadāna (collecting materials necessary for worship), iḥyā (offering of the materials to the vigraha or image of the deity), svādhyāya (reading of the mantras and requisite Śāstras) and yoga (meditation and consequent union with the deity). But these attempts are all arbitrary, and do not throw any light on the problem.....The Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā... states at the end of its eleventh Chapter that Lord (Vāsudeva) Himself framed out of the original Śāstra' the system (tantra) called) Pañcarātra describing His (five-fold) nature (known as) Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, etc.<sup>4</sup> and that highest will of Viṣṇu called Sudarśana, through which He split into five appearing five-mouthed".<sup>5</sup>

Skanda refers to 'Pañcarātrokta-mārga'<sup>6</sup> and 'Pañcarātroditā-

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1. Sk., II. ix. 25.67 (i), Kriyāyoga will be discussed in Chapter on Iconography. (See, Studies in skanda Purāṇa, Part IV).
  2. Ibid., II. ix. 25. 69-70.
  3. Ibid., II. ix. 9- 34.
  4. PTR., pp. 41-42.
  5. Ibid., pp. 41-42.
  6. Sk., II. iv. 33.55.



vidhāna<sup>1</sup> meant for the worship of Hari. Puruṣasūkta is also associated with the worship of Hari.<sup>2</sup>

Skanda also refers to the sixteen modes of worship (ṣoḍaśa-upacāras),<sup>3</sup> meant for the adoration of Viṣṇu (ṣoḍaśair upacāraiśca Viṣṇoh pūjā).<sup>4</sup> These are :

- (1) āvāhanam (VI. 239. 15)
- (2) āsanam (VI. 239. 16)
- (3) pādyam (VI. 239.17)
- (4) arghyam (VI. 239.18)
- (5) ācamanam (VI. 239.20)
- (6) snānam (VI. 239.22)
- (7) ācchādanam (Vastradānam) (VI.239.26. 27).
- (8) yaññopavīta-dānam (VI.239.28)
- (9) sulepaḥ (VI. 239. 34); candanalepa-subhagam (VI. 239.37)
- (10) puṣpa-pūjā (VI. 239.38); He should be worshipped with white flowers (VI. 239.42)
- (11) dhūpa-dānam (VI. 239. 45)
- (12) dīpa-dānam (VI. 239. 49)
- (13) annasya-nivedanam (VI. 240.9) followed by ācamanam, arghyam and ācamanam (again)
- (14) namaskuryāt (VI. 240.15)
- (15) bhramam (circumambulation) (VI. 240.16)
- (16) deva-sāyujyam cintayet (VI. 240.18) (communion with the Supreme soul).

Śūdras and women were not permitted to perform these sixteen upacāras,<sup>5</sup> though in the Veṅkaṭa-giri mahātmya (II.i). Skanda observes

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1. Sk., II. iv. 33. 18.
  2. Ibid., II. iv. 33.17 (1).
  3. Ibid., II. ii.30. 83.
  4. Ibid., VI. 238. 1; VI. 239. 1.
  5. Ibid., VI. 241.2.



observes that 'bhakti' does not recognise distinctions of any type. Insects and worms, devas, and ascetics are treated as equals as equals (tulyāḥ) on Venkaṭa hill before the Lord-Śrī Nivāsa.<sup>1</sup> None is low or high, but all are great.<sup>2</sup> The Garuḍa Purāṇa advocates equality among Śudras, Śvapacas, Nisādas and Brāhmaṇas following the tenets of Viṣṇu-bhakti.<sup>3</sup>

**Śaligrāma-Śilārcanam** (Sk., II. iv. 1. 39-i)—Viṣṇu is to be worshipped in the symbolic form of Śilās.<sup>4</sup> These stones found in the bed of the river Gaṇḍakī represent Viṣṇu (āsmagataṁ Viṣṇuṁ Gaṇḍakī-jala sambhavaṁ).<sup>5</sup> Skanda also refers to many types of Śaligrāma<sup>6</sup> stones. Five<sup>7</sup> or twelve<sup>8</sup> types of Śilās are mentioned in our text.

**Tulasī**—Tulasī-plant occupies an important place in the Bhāgavata-dharma. Chapter 249 of the Nāgara-khaṇḍa deals with Tulasī-mahātmya :—

Nārāyaṇo jagat-trātā Tulasī tasya vallabha.

Sk., II. iv. 8. 38.

**Bhāgavatam**—Vedas, Smṛities, Purāṇas, Itihāsa, Pañca-ratra and Bhārata (Mahābhārata) are stated to be the sources of knowledge relating to Viṣṇu.<sup>9</sup> The Bhāgavata Purāṇa or Bhāgavata is the most popular of all the Vaiṣṇava works. If the persons born as human beings in the Bhārata-varṣa have not listened to the contents of the Bhāgavata, they commit suicide under the pressure of vicious nature.<sup>10</sup> Those who read or recite it or even listen to it attain the highest abode of bliss and

1. Sk., II. i. 18.30 (ii)-31(i).

2. Ibid., II. i. 18. 33.

3. Garuḍa P., I. 222.49.

4. Sk., II. iv. 1.39 (i); VI. 251.29, 30, 31.

5. Ibid., VI. 243. 63.

6. Ibid., VI. 244. 9 (i)

7. Ibid., II. iii. 3.18 (i); II. iii. 3.20.

8. Ibid., IV. i. 21.65 (i)—They have been dealt with in the Chapter on Iconography. (St, Sk., Pt. IV)

9. Ibid., II. vi. 19. 12-14.

10. Ibid., II. vi. 3. 14.



beatitude. Thus the Bhāgavata-śravaṇam<sup>1</sup> is an important practice of the Vaiṣṇavas.<sup>2</sup> It is also called Bhāgavata-śāstra,<sup>3</sup> as well as Kṛṣṇa-śāstra,<sup>4</sup> Bṛhaspati is stated to have received Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam from Sāṃkhyāyana and from Bṛhaspati it was received by Uddhava devoted to Kṛṣṇa.<sup>5</sup> It contains eighteen thousand ślokaś.<sup>6</sup>

**Gītā** (II. iv. 36.9)—Śrīmad-bhagavat-gītā is also read and recited with great devotion,<sup>7</sup> particularly in the month of Kārtika, when its recitation is regarded as a meritorious act.<sup>8</sup> Gītā destroys sins and leads to the realisation of Mokṣa.<sup>9</sup> Muttering of Viṣṇu-Sahasra-nāma with devotion<sup>10</sup> is also held in high esteem by the Vaiṣṇavas.<sup>11</sup>

**Nāma-kīrtanam**—The recital of His names<sup>12</sup> i.e. Viṣṇu-saṃkīrtanam,<sup>13</sup> or Govinda-Kīrtanam<sup>14</sup> is considered to be highly meritorious. The muttering of Aṣṭākṣaramantra (Om namo Nārāyaṇāya)<sup>15</sup> and Dvādsākṣara-mantra<sup>16</sup> (Om namo Bhagavate Vasudevāya)<sup>17</sup> is also praised for its merits.

**Viṣṇu-Kathā**—Lastly, Viṣṇu-kathā<sup>18</sup> is also a pious practice with the Vaiṣṇavas. Kathā-śravaṇam brings mokṣa from the worldly ties

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1. Sk., II. iv. 6. 20.
  2. Ibid., II. v. 16. 30.
  3. Ibid., II. vi. 3. 60 (ii).
  4. Ibid., II. vi. 4. 12 (i).
  5. Ibid., II. vi. 3. 19.
  6. Ibid., II. vi. 4. 9 (i).
  7. Ibid., II. vii. 25. 20.
  8. Ibid., II. iv. 6. 19.
  9. Ibid., II. iv. 2. 50.
  10. Ibid., II. v. 10. 21; V. i. 63. 74.
  11. Ibid., II. vii. 25. 21.
  12. Ibid., II. iv. 1. 54.
  13. Ibid., II. iv. 3. 11.
  14. Ibid., II. i. 37. 61.
  15. Ibid., I. ii. 42. 61.
  16. Ibid., IV. i. 19. 118.
  17. Ibid., I. ii. 42. 31.
  18. Ibid., II. vii. 14. 7.



of birth.<sup>1</sup> and it also destroys the ties of Karma.<sup>2</sup> Through Kathā-śravaṇam a person develops attachment to Viṣṇu and faith in the saints.<sup>3</sup> A place devoid of saints, Viṣṇu-kathā and Tulasī, is to be deserted, even though it may be the bank of the Gaṅgā marked by such pious practices as śravaṇam, dhyānam and mananam.<sup>4</sup> A vaiṣṇava should always be devoted to Viṣṇu-kathā and Viṣṇu-smṛti.<sup>5</sup> Hence vaiṣṇavī-kathā should be listened to with piety and devotion.<sup>6</sup>

**Bhakta**—Skanda describes the characteristics of a Bhāgavata,<sup>7</sup> or the attributes by which a Bhāgavata is recognised. Both the arms of a Bhāgavata are to be marked with Śaṅkha and Cakra. White ūrdhva-puṇḍra with an aṅtarāla is marked on his forehead.<sup>8</sup> Some of them put twelve puṇḍras (marks) on the different parts of body viz., lalāṭa, forehead, stomach, breast, neck, belly pārśvas, kūrpas, back and on the back side of the neck.<sup>9</sup> Bhāgavatas also mark twelve parts of their body with His twelve names viz., keśava etc.<sup>10</sup>

Bhāgavatas are enjoined to observe a high code of conduct. They do good to all, without having malice or jealousy, they are enlightened and calm, free from desire.<sup>11</sup> They cause no injury to any one either by actions, by thought or by speech, and they hold no possessions.<sup>12</sup> They are always anxious to listen to satkathā and are devoted to the feet of Viṣṇu.<sup>13</sup> With devotion to their parents they worship the gods.<sup>14</sup>

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1. Sk., II. vii. 14. 13.
  2. Ibid., II. vii. 14. 39.
  3. Ibid., II. vii. 14. 14.
  4. Ibid., II. vii. 14. 18, 19.
  5. Ibid., II. vii. 14. 20.
  6. Ibid., VII. ii. 15. 57.
  7. Ibid., II. i. 6. 51.
  8. Ibid., II. i. 6. 51.
  9. Ibid., II. i. 6. 53.
  10. Ibid., II. i. 6. 54.
  11. Ibid., II. i. 21. 40.
  12. Ibid., II. i. 21. 41.
  13. Ibid., II. i. 21. 42.
  14. Ibid., II. i. 21. 43.



They are also devoted to service of Brahmachāris and ascetics and they do not speak ill of others.<sup>1</sup> They treat all alike, be they their friends or foes.<sup>2</sup> They respect the law-givers and speakers of the truth.<sup>3</sup> They deliberate upon Purāṇas, listen to their contents and respect the reciters of the Purāṇas.<sup>4</sup> They rejoice at the prosperity of others<sup>5</sup> and are devoted to Hari-nāma.<sup>6</sup> Planting of trees, protection of tanks, digging of ponds and building of temples are also stated to be the sacred duties of the Bhāgavatas. They are also attached to the muttering of Gayatri.<sup>7</sup> They feel happy to hear the names of Hari.<sup>8</sup> They bow low with respects at the site of Tulasī-kānana and wear its wood in their ears.<sup>9</sup> They follow duties of their respective āśramas and worship the guests expounding the meaning of Vedas.<sup>10</sup> They make gifts of the food and the drink observing the fast on Ekādaśī (eleventh day of each fortnight). They are also attached to godāna (gifts of cows) and kanyā-dāna (marriage-gift of the girls) and they do all such acts to please the God.<sup>11</sup> Their mind is devoted to the Lord. They are His devotees and eagerly think of His adoration and His nāmasmaraṇam.<sup>12</sup> The characteristics of Bhaktas are also described in the tenth chapter of Puruṣottama-kṣetra-māhatmya of the Vaiṣṇava khaṇḍa. They should be —

Praśanta-cittāḥ i. e. cool-hearted sarveṣāṃ saumyaḥ i. e. polite to all kama-jitendriyaḥ i. e. self-controlled karmaṇa manasa vacā para drohamani-cchavaḥ i. e. manifesting no ill-will or malice to others by actions, or by thought or by speech.

—Sk., II. ii. 10. 100.

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1. Sk., II. i. 21. 44.
  2. Ibid., II. i. 21. 46.
  3. Ibid., II. i. 21. 47.
  4. Ibid., II. i. 21. 48.
  5. Ibid., II. i. 21. 49.
  6. Ibid., II. i. 21. 50.
  7. Ibid., II. i. 21. 51, 52 (i).
  8. Ibid., II. i. 21. 52 (ii); II. i. 21. 53.
  9. Ibid., II. i. 21. 54.
  10. Ibid., II. i. 21. 56.
  11. Ibid., II. i. 21. 58-59.
  12. Ibid., II. i. 21. 60.



dayardra-manasaḥ i. e. compassionate steya-himsa-parāṇmukhaḥ  
i. e. free from stealing and violence.

—Ibid., II. ii. 10. 101.

sadācāravadātaśca i. e. famous for their virtuous and pious  
conduct.

parotsava-nijotsavaḥ i. e. happy at others' happiness.  
paśyantaḥ sarvabhūtaṣṭhaṁ realising the presence of Vāsudeva in  
Vāsudevamaṁsaraḥ all creatures, without any malice in the  
heart

—Ibid., II. ii. 10. 102.

dīnanukampino nityaṁ i. e. kind to the poor  
bhṛśaṁ para-hitaiṣiṇaḥ i. e. wishing always good to others.

—Ibid., II. ii. 10. 103.

nityaṁ kartavyatābuddhya sacrificing daily in honour of Śaṅkara  
yajantaḥ Śaṅkarādikaṁ and others.

—Sk., II. ii. 10. 105.

viṣṇoranyaṁ na paśyanti seeing none but Viṣṇu and also Viṣṇu  
viṣṇuṁ nānyat pṛthgataṁ apart from none.

—Ibid., II. ii. 10. 106.

jagannatha ! tavāsmīti Complete surrender to the Lord of the  
dāstavaṁ cāsmi no pṛthak universe feeling no separate existence  
from that of the Viṣṇu whom a Bhakta  
regards as his master (with the idea-  
'Lord I am yours').

—Ibid., II. ii. 10. 107.

There is, however, no separate existence from Him, be it 'sevyā'  
or 'sevaka', for He resides in the hearts of all and hence He is  
Antaryāmi, Supreme.

Guru or the preceptor also occupies a very important place in the  
system of the Bhakti cult. By the pleasure of ācārya is pleased



Mādhava, the Lord.<sup>1</sup> Dissatisfaction of the Guru displeases the gods.<sup>2</sup> Thus by obedience and service to the 'guru', he attains everything.<sup>3</sup> By not doing service to the 'guru' one goes to hell.<sup>4</sup>

**Avatāras of Viṣṇu**—Bhagavān is born as a man upon earth whenever a necessity to that effect arises. It is proclaimed by the Lord, Himself :—

Yadāyadaiva kālena dharmā-glānirbhaviṣyati,  
Dharmāni saṁsthāpayiṣyāmi hyavatāraistadā tadā.

—Sk., II. vi. 3. 30.

Therefore, in different ages, the Lord assumed different incarnatory forms to fulfil different missions. His ten forms—Daśāvatāras<sup>5</sup>—are very famous (to be dealt with in chapter on Iconography). There are also some other avatāras of Viṣṇu viz....

Kapila, Datta, Rṣabha, Saṁkarṣaṇa—)	Chapter XVIII of
Bala, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, )	Vāsudeva mahātmya (II. ix)
Kṛṣṇa (Dvāipāyana), Nārāyaṇa Muni )	of Vaiṣṇava Khaṇḍa.
Dhanvantari. Haṁsa and Sanatkumāra.)	

—Sk., II. ix. 27. 34. 36.

Rṣabha, son of Merudevi and Nābhi, is mentioned as the founder of Parama-haṁsa-Dharma (asceticism).<sup>6</sup> Thus "Rṣabha from the parentage given above and other indications, appears as the founder of Jainism, the first Tirthāṅkara. He was probably raised to the dignity of an incarnation as the Buddha of the Buddhist was".<sup>7</sup> The Buddha is also mentioned as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.<sup>8</sup>

1. Sk., II. ii. 39. 79.

2. Ibid., II. iv. 2. 3.

3. Ibid., II. iv. 2. 2.

4. Ibid., II. iv. 2. 4.

5. Ibid., V. iii. 151. 4.

6. Ibid., II. ix. 18. 26.

7. Bhandarkara; Vaiṣṇavism etc. (collected works of Sri R. G. Bhandarkara Vol. IV. p. 59), Summaries of Papers, International Congress of Orientalists, p. 56, No. 10, Dr. J. N. Banerjea : "The Paurāṇic Account of Rṣabhadeva and Buddha".

8. Sk., II. ix. 27. 25.



A Vaiṣṇava devotee also worships twelve images of Hari under different names, in the twelve months of the year with fruits and flowers.<sup>1</sup> The names of months are not mentioned here :

Names of Hari		Fruits <sup>2</sup>	Flowers <sup>3</sup>
Viṣṇu	II. ii. 44. 9.	dāḍima	aśoka
Madhusūdana	-do- 10.	nārikela	mallikā
Trivikrama	-do- 11.	āmra	paṭala
Vāmana	-do- 12.	panasa	kadamba
Śrīdhara	-do- 13.	kharjūra	karavīra
Hṛṣikeṣa	-do- 14.	tṛṇarāja	jātipuṣpa
Padmanābha	-do- 15.	prācināmalaka	malāṭī
Dāmobara	-do- 16.	śrīphala	śatapa- traka
Keśava	-do- 17.	nāraṅga	utpala
Nārayaṇa	-do- 18.	kramuka	vāsantī
Mādhava	-do- 19.	karamaṅgaka	kūṇḍa
Govinda	-do- 20.	jatiphala	punnaga

These twelve images of Hari are to be made of gold.<sup>4</sup> After worshipping them, 'dakṣiṇā' should be given to the acarya.<sup>5</sup> It is known as Samvatsaram vṛataṁ.<sup>6</sup> Similarly twenty-four images of Viṣṇu are also to be worshipped by the people. These have been mentioned in the Chapter on Iconography.

Of all the avatāras of Viṣṇu, Rama and Kṛṣṇa have been influencing the life and thought of the Hindus to a very great degree.

1. Sk., II. ii. 44. 2-3.
2. Ibid., II. ii. 44. 6-7.
3. Ibid., II. ii. 44. 4-5.
4. Ibid., II. ii. 44. 23.
5. Ibid., II. ii. 44. 31.
6. Ibid., II. ii. 44. 1.



## RĀMA-CULT

Study of the Skanda Purāṇa reveals clearly that the Rāma-cult (Rāma-bhakti)<sup>1</sup> had been established on a sound footing in this age. Skanda describes the performance of great austerities by an ascetic named Sutīkṣṇa, a disciple of Agastya, who meditated upon the lotus-feet of Śrī Rāma.<sup>2</sup> He meditated upon Rāmacandra and Sītā<sup>3</sup> with great devotion.<sup>4</sup> He recited prayers called 'Rāmacandra-stotra'<sup>5</sup> to Him. He also propitiated Lord Rāma by muttering the Saḍakṣara-māntra<sup>6</sup> or Rāma-māntra.<sup>7</sup> Thus in the heart of Sutīkṣṇa was developed steadfast devotion towards Rāmacandra.<sup>8</sup>

While describing the setting up of Rāmeśvara-Liṅga by Śrī Rāmacandra, Skanda enumerates his achievements.<sup>9</sup> Munis prayed to him in many ways.<sup>10</sup> It clearly shows that he had become an important deity of popular worship by this time. Rāmacandra is credited with all the attributes of the Supreme-Viṣṇu, whose very name is styled a boat by which the worldly ocean can be crossed.<sup>11</sup> One attains Vaikuṇṭha with the help of Rāma nāma,<sup>12</sup> which is held as meritorious as Sahasra-nāma.<sup>13</sup>

Chapters XXXVI—XXXVIII of Dharmarāya section (III. ii) of Brahma Khaṇḍa deal with the glorification and exaltation of Rāma as well as Hanumān. There ruled Ama, the king of Kānyakubja and his

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1. Sk., III. i. 18. 29.
  2. Ibid., III. i. 18. 8.
  3. Ibid., III. i. 18. 9.
  4. Ibid., III. i. 18. 11-17.
  5. Ibid., III. i. 18. 19.
  6. Ibid., III. i. 18. 7.
  7. Ibid., III. i. 18. 18; III. i. 52. 156-157.
  8. Ibid., III. i. 18. 20.
  9. Ibid., Chapter XLIV of Setumahatmya of Brahma-khaṇḍa.
  10. Ibid., III. i. 44. 73.
  11. Ibid., III. ii. 1. 1.
  12. Ibid., III. ii. 38. 36.
  13. Ibid., III. ii. 38. 72.



son-in-law Kumbhipāla (Kumārāpāla) in Dharmarāya. The latter accepted Jainism after abandoning Vaiṣṇava dharma. He also did not recognise Rāmaśāsana (Rāma's charter granted to the Brahmanas of his kingdom). The Brahmanas reported to Āma, but to no avail. Hence they all decided to go to Rāma-setu. In the way they met Hanumān who gave him two 'puṭikās' (packets). One was to burn everything when thrown and the other was to restore everything destroyed by the fire. The Brahmanas with the help of these puṭikās regained their lost positions. King himself accepted Rāma as his Lord, the saviour.<sup>1</sup>

Viṣṇu, born of Kauśalyā, is called Rāma because He is the source of happiness and pleasure to the World.<sup>2</sup> He is also called Rāma because of his existence in the hearts of all the creatures, or because of his identification with Antaratma.<sup>3</sup> Chapter CCLVI of Nāgara Khaṇḍa deals with the celebrated merits of Rāma-nāma. Hence Raghu-pati (Rāma) along with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa should be worshipped.<sup>4</sup> Because of the associations of Rāma, Ayodhya and Sarayū<sup>5</sup> have become very sacred tīrthas in India.

**Hanumat-Bhakti**—The Skanda Purāṇa also describes the Hanumat-bhakti.<sup>6</sup> Rāma-dūta is to be worshipped by oil-painting as well as by offerings of 'dhūpa', 'dīpa', fruits, and flowers of many varieties.<sup>7</sup> For it brings the fulfilment of desires.<sup>8</sup> Contemporary monuments and coins witness the prominence of Hanumān-bhakti in the Candella kingdom.<sup>9</sup>

**Rāma-Bhaktāh**—(III. ii. 40. 50) Vasiṣṭha, Vamadeva, Jābali, and Kaśyapa are mentioned as the Rāma-Bhaktas.<sup>10</sup>

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1. Sk., III. ii. 38. 32; III. ii. 38. 33; III. ii. 38. 34.
  2. Ibid., I. i. 8. 102.
  3. Ibid., VI. 256. 46.
  4. Ibid., II. viii. 8. 59. 72.
  5. Ibid., II. viii. 1. 16.
  6. Ibid., II. viii. 1. 43.
  7. Ibid., III. ii. 39. 2.
  8. Ibid., III. ii. 40. 24-25.
  9. ERK., pp. 183. 193. 211.
  10. Sk., III. 152. 146-147.



**Rāmāyana** (V. 1. 26. 36)—Vālmīki wrote divine Rāmakathā which is believed to liberate the devotees from the ties of karma.<sup>1</sup>

**Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti**—The importance of the Gītā and the Bhāgavatam displays the greatness of Kṛṣṇa. He stands as a saviour of commoners, the herdsmen. He himself had been engaged in rearing the cows living in the house of Nanda-gopa. He is styled Vatsapālaka-bālaka.<sup>2</sup> His Vrajalīlā, particularly the rescuing of gopas against the terror of Indra by lifting the Govardhana, on the tip of his finger represents the superiority of Kṛṣṇacult as against that of the Vedic god Indra<sup>3</sup>. Kṛṣṇa is eulogised as a perennial source of Bhakti-rasa bestowing upon his devotees 'ananta-sukha' or infinite bliss for, Saccidanānda Bhagavān is the source of creation, maintenance and destruction of the Universe.<sup>4</sup> Vāsudeva,<sup>5</sup> Devakīputra<sup>6</sup>—Kṛṣṇa, also represents the Supreme Soul.<sup>7</sup>

**Kṛṣṇārcanam**<sup>8</sup>—Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is to be worshipped even by the ascetics (muktaiḥ i. e. those who have renounced all worldly attachments and secured final beatitude).<sup>9</sup> Dvijātis and hermits (āśramis), women and sūdras all worship Him, following their sva-dharmas.<sup>10</sup> He is also to be pleased by the nine-modes of worship.<sup>11</sup> This mode of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti is called Ekāntika Dharma or Bhāgavata Dharma.<sup>12</sup> There is no better means to attain deliverance than devotion to Kṛṣṇa and it brings the greatest good after destroying all the evils and sins.<sup>13</sup> The path of Kriyāyoga successfully leads to the fruition of the Ekāntika

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1. Sk., II. vii. 21. 68.
  2. Ibid., V. i. 63, 168-176.
  3. Ibid., V. i. 67. 174.
  4. Ibid., II. vi. 1. 1.
  5. Ibid., II. ix. 32. 31.
  6. Ibid., II. ix. 32. 12.
  7. Ibid., II. ix. 32. 17.
  8. Ibid., VI. 192. 10.
  9. Ibid., II. ix. 2. 11.
  10. Ibid., II. ix. 2. 12.
  11. Ibid., II. ix. 25. 62; II. ix. 25. 63.
  12. Ibid., II. ix. 25. 64.
  13. Ibid., II. ix. 25. 66.



Dharma, which will exempt him from the karmas (naiṣkarmyaṁ karmaṇām).<sup>1</sup>

**Kriyā-Yoga**—The method of offering worship to Vasudeva is called kriyāyoga, variously described in the Vedas and Tantras.<sup>2</sup> Śākalya is stated to have expounded it.<sup>3</sup> All persons belonging to four Varṇas and Āśramas, as well as women of the four Varṇas who have been initiated into Vaiṣṇavī dīkṣā are qualified to perform kriyāyoga.<sup>4</sup> The persons of the three upper Varṇas (dvijaḥ), women, and sacchūdras after receiving the initiatory maṅtra should worship Him through the hymns of Vedas, Tantras and Purāṇas as well as through the Mūlamantra of the deity. The main maṅtra for Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the six-lettered one.<sup>5</sup>

Dīkṣā should be received from a good preceptor, always engaged in the observance of 'Ekāntika Dharma'.<sup>6</sup> Person devoid of jñāna, bhakti and Sva-dharma as well as devoted to women should not be accepted as guru.<sup>7</sup>

After receiving guru-dīkṣā, a devotee should wear Tulasī-mālā in the neck, and put a perpendicular mark of sandal (gopī-candana) on the forehead.<sup>8</sup> A Bhakta desirous of worshipping Viṣṇu should begin pūjanam after knowing well the mode of worship as propounded by Guru and the Āgama.<sup>9</sup>

Rising early in the morning (Brahma-velā), in the last portion of the night, a Bhakta should meditate upon Keśava. Then, after performing the necessary daily duties, wash and bath etc. associated with

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1. Sk., II. ix. 25. 67.
  2. Ibid., II. ix. 26. 4.
  3. Ibid., II. ix. 26. 6.
  4. Ibid., II. ix. 26. 7.
  5. Ibid., II. ix. 26. 8.
  6. Ibid., II. ix. 26. 10.
  7. Ibid., II. ix. 26. 11-12.
  8. Ibid., II. ix. 26. 13.
  9. Ibid., II. ix. 26. 14.



the purification of body he should perform 'tarpaṇa'.<sup>1</sup> Seated on a pure seat, he should perform the rites of 'saṁdhyā', 'homa' and 'japa' etc., after putting an ūrdhva-puṇḍra mark on the forehead.<sup>2</sup> He should then offer 'vastra', 'candana', 'puṣpa' etc. and should burn incense or dīpa. He should, then, worship the image of Kṛṣṇa either sculptured or painted white, red, yellow or black.<sup>3</sup>

Hari, thus, should be worshipped with the offerings, that are within the means of a devotee. He is pleased even with the offering of water offered with sincere faith and devotion.<sup>4</sup> Worship of Śrī-kṛṣṇa ensures speedy attainment of all the desires.<sup>5</sup> Skanda describes the construction of a pūjamaṇḍala.<sup>6</sup> Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana<sup>7</sup> is also an important practice of Kṛṣṇa-bhaktas.

Sri Mathura deśa<sup>8</sup> or Vraja-bhūmi<sup>9</sup> is described as the most important centre of Kṛṣṇa-cult. In that region many places, named after the different achievements of Kṛṣṇa,<sup>10</sup> are held to be very sacred. These are Govardhana, Dīrghapura, Mathurā, Mahavana, Nandigrāma, Bṛhatsāna,<sup>11</sup> Vṛndāvana<sup>12</sup> or Vṛndāraṇya<sup>13</sup> not far from Govardhana, and Gokula<sup>14</sup> are equally sacred.

Nandātmja-Kṛṣṇa is significantly called 'Ātmārāmaḥ' and Āpta-kāmaḥ.<sup>15</sup> His Ātmā (self) is Rādhikā and because of His rejoicings

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1. Sk., II. ix. 26. 15, 16, 17, 18.
  2. Ibid., II. ix. 26. 19, 20, 21.
  3. Ibid., II. ix. 26. 22-23.
  4. Ibid., II. ix. 26. 36.
  5. Ibid., II. ix. 26. 38.
  6. Ibid., II. ix. Chap. XXVIII.
  7. Ibid., II. v. 15. 47.
  8. Ibid., II. v. 15. 65.
  9. Ibid., II. vi. 1. 3.
  10. Ibid., II. vi. 1. 28.
  11. Ibid., II. vi. 1. 38.
  12. Ibid., II. ii. 13. 12. (i).
  13. Ibid., II. vi. 2. 30. (i).
  14. Ibid., VII. iv. 1. 6.
  15. Ibid., II. vi. 1. 21.



with the latter He is called *Ātma-āmaḥ*,<sup>1</sup> i.e. one rejoicing in one's self or Supreme-spirit. Cows, gopas and gopikas are desires and passions and it is because of His daily enjoying the same that He is called *Āpta-kāmaḥ* i. e. one who has satisfied his desires or one who knows the Brahman.<sup>2</sup> This is the greatest mystery of Prakṛti with which He (*Puruṣa*) plays.<sup>3</sup> His *līlā* is two fold—*Vāstavi* and *Vyavahārikī*.<sup>4</sup>

Thus we see that devotion to Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa was very popular in this age of Skanda, which asserts that knowledge shines when heart, like mirror, becomes clear by purifying it with Bhagavad-bhakti.<sup>5</sup>

### WORSHIP OF BRAHMĀ

The first three sections of the Skanda Purāṇa are devoted to Brahmanical Trinity—Maheśvara (I), Viṣṇu (II) and Brahmā (III). References to His images (cf. Chapter on Iconography) and temples, where a lamp was to be burnt in the month of Kārtika,<sup>6</sup> show that He was also worshipped by the people.<sup>7</sup> He is styled 'Loka-pitāmahaḥ'.<sup>8</sup> He had five faces, but because of false pride Śiva chopped off one of His heads.<sup>9</sup> Due to the curse of Śiva, Brahmā was not to be worshipped in the form of images. But He is worshipped through śrauta and smṛtta rites.<sup>10</sup> He occupied an important place as a member of Hindu Trinity. Śiva asserts that Brahmā-styled 'Svāyambhur-bhagavān' is to be worshipped; sages should offer their salutations and prayers; and His worship was as important as that of Śiva and Viṣṇu.<sup>11</sup>

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1. Sk., II. vi. 1. 22.
  2. Ibid., II. vi. 1. 23.
  3. Ibid., II. vi. 1. 24.
  4. Ibid., II. vi. 1. 25.
  5. Ibid., II. iii. 1. 7.
  6. Ibid., II. iv. 7. 113 (i).
  7. Ibid., II. iv. 11. 7.
  8. Ibid., I. i. 2. 5 (i).
  9. Ibid., I. i. 3. 10.
  10. Ibid., III. i. 14. 39, 41, 46.
  11. Ibid., VII. i. 105. 56-59.



“In the chapter on the installation of images, Varāhamihira gives a list of several sects which had been flourishing for a long time before his work was composed. He says that the images of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Śambhu, Mātṛgaṇas, Brahmā, Buddha and the Jinas should be duly consecrated and installed by the Bhāgavatas.....”.<sup>1</sup>

Vakpati in his Gaudavaho refers to Brahmā as the divine architect shaping the world as the creator.<sup>2</sup> Bhavabhūti<sup>3</sup> and Murāri<sup>4</sup> also mention Him as the divine architect. Bhavabhūti also refers to Him by the epithet of Padmayoni.<sup>5</sup>

While discussing worship of Brahmā, Dr. Sharma observes : “We have no idea of the philosophical tenets of Brahmanism. But Brahmā, though no longer a popular god elsewhere, had his temples in Rājasthāna. Puṣkar, which is believed to represent the site of Brahmā's sacrifice, had then and has even now a great temple dedicated to Brahmā. There is an old temple of Brahmā at Khed and another of Sāvitrī and Brahmā at Bīṭhū. The Brahmā temple of Vasantgarh (Sirohī) had a two armed and three-faced figure of the god. His other images have been found at Sevaḍī (Jodhpur), Basad (Pratabgarh), Sirod (Kotāh), Kiraḍū (Jodhpur), Bijoliā (Mewār) and Osiā (Jodhpur)”.<sup>6</sup>

The recitation of Brahmā-stotra<sup>7</sup> comprising the different names of Brahmā is deemed to be an act of piety.<sup>8</sup> The names of the deity represented the shrines set up in the different parts of the country. Brahmā was to be worshipped by the offerings of flowers, gifts and incense. He was to be meditated upon by the devotees.<sup>9</sup> The shrines and images of Brahmā have been found in Gujarāt.<sup>10</sup>

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1. DHI., p. 23C; PTR., p. 12.

2. GV., Verse 4.

3. MVC., II. 8.

4. Anargharaghava, I. 2.

5. Mālātī Mādhava, VI. 7; U. R. C., II, p. 54.

6. ECD., p. 229.

7. Sk., VII. i. 107. 76 (ii).

8. Ibid., VII. i. 107. 103, 105-109.

9. Ibid., VII. i. 107-107.

10. A. Ch. G. pp. 381, 382.



### TRIMURTI<sup>1</sup> (MAHEŚA)

The representation of three gods—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara in one and the same image<sup>2</sup>—is a unique feature of Hindu religion, art and philosophy. This particularly marks the absence of difference or distinction between these three deities.<sup>3</sup> These three gods also represent three saṁdhyās, three seasons and three fires which are united into one.<sup>4</sup> Representing the rainy season, Brahmā is also known as Water and Clouds protecting the whole world; Viṣṇu represents Hemaṁta (cold season); and destroyer of all the creatures, Rudra represents the summer.<sup>5</sup> The conception of Trimūrti represents unity in diversity. These three gods are also stated to have been born on the earth as the sons of Anusuyā, wife of the famous sage Atri.<sup>6</sup> “The so called Trimūrti, really a representation of Śiva as Maheśa.....is deservedly famous as one of the finest reliefs in all India”.<sup>7</sup>

### ŚAKTI CULT

Devībhakti,<sup>8</sup> worship of the Mother goddess is an old religious practice of hoary antiquity. “The worship of the goddess conceived in various aspects, specially as the divine and universal mother, appears to have been in existence in India from the pre-Vedic times”.<sup>9</sup> The ring stones found in the early Indus Valley sites were taken to be emblems of the divine mother by Marshall and Prof. J. N. Banerjea accepted this view.<sup>10</sup> “Theodore Bloch while excavating at Laurianandargarh.....found the impression of such a figure on a small thin gold leaf, which he thought stood for the earth-goddess; but A. K. Coomar-

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1. Sk., III. i. 52. 230.
  2. Ibid., V. iii. 146. 116.
  3. Ibid., V. iii. 227. 8.
  4. Ibid., V. iii. 103. 65.
  5. Ibid., V. iii. 103. 60. 63.
  6. Ibid., V. iii. 103. 108.
  7. HIIA., p. 100; see his figures No. 194, 195.
  8. Sk., VII. iii. 37. 11.
  9. PTR., p. 110.
  10. Ibid., pp. 110-111.



swamy more justifiably identified it as standing for the mother goddess. A large number of terracotta female figurines similar to the above were unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa and other sites of the proto-historic age....."<sup>1</sup>

"The Goddess represents the metaphysical principle of Power (Śakti), the transcendent source and support of all creatures and creation as propounded both in the Vedas and in the Purāṇas. In the R̥gveda, 10.125, we find a clear and emphatic statement of the Great Goddess as the Universal Power called Vāk. She is the daughter of the Primeval Ocean.....she is the Supreme Power as Speech or Vāk..."<sup>2</sup> We find mention of the Śakti worship in several books of the Mahābhārata (Vanaparvan, Ch. 39, Verses 4, 72, Virāta, Ch. 6; Bhīṣma Ch. 23, etc.). Various epithets are given to Her ....."<sup>3</sup> In the Purāṇas, specially in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, she appears as the centre of the great Śakti cult.....Therein is to be found the conception of the Supreme Godhead as the embodiment of the Cosmic Energy".<sup>4</sup>

According to the Śāktas the whole universe is pervaded with Śiva and Śakti (Śiva-Śakti yutaṁ sarvametaccarācaram).<sup>5</sup> The entire creation is permeated with Śiva and Śakti (Śiva-Śaktyātmakam jagat).<sup>6</sup> Just as Ātmā-Parameśvara resides in all the created beings, so also Prakṛti-Parameśvarī is always present everywhere. That Īśvarī-Śakti lives in all the beings, and by the blessings of Śakti all the good fortunes are achieved.<sup>7</sup> She brings bondage as well as deliverance. Power and supremacy have been attained by Indra and others through Her blessings.<sup>8</sup> Those, who do not recognise and respect Śakti or who disrespect her, face the crisis and collapse. Hence Śakti should always

1. Ibid., p. 111.

2. Devī Māhātmya, p. 2.

(Cf. The Śakti Cult and Tārā, pp. 11-14.)

3. Ibid., p. 15.

4. Ibid., p. 15.

5. Sk., I. i. 8. 19.

6. Ibid., I. i. 13. 64.

7. Ibid., I. ii. 47. 2-3.

8. Ibid., I. ii. 47. 5.



be worshipped by human beings. She is Supreme Prakṛti represented into many forms :<sup>1</sup>

A—Four Digdevīs i.e. Four Śaktis placed in the four quarters :<sup>2</sup>

Siddhāmbikā in the east (I. ii. 47. 11)

Tārā in the south (I. ii. 47. 12-15)

Bhāskarā in the west (I. ii. 47. 16-18)

Yoganandinī in the north (I. ii. 47. 19-21).

B—Six Mothers—(II. vii. 9. 49 (i) ) These are Brāhmī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Cāmuṇḍā or Kṛittikās associated with Kārttikeya (explained by the Commentator).

C—Seven Mothers—(I. iii. 19. 52 (ii) ) These are Brāhmī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Aindrī, and Cāmuṇḍā.<sup>3</sup> Each one of these seven mothers is associated with one of the seven lokas.<sup>4</sup>

D—Nine Śaktis<sup>5</sup> or Navadurgāḥ<sup>6</sup>—These are Brahmanī, Vaiṣṇavī, Raudrī, Vārāhī, Nārasīṅhikā, Kaumārī, Māhendrī, Cāmuṇḍā and Caṇḍikā.<sup>7</sup>

The nine goddessess (navadurgāḥ) were placed in the three quarters namely east, west, and north: Tripurā, Kolambā, and Kapaleśī are placed in the east.<sup>8</sup> Three goddesses viz., Suvarṇakṣī, Carcitā, and Trailokya-vijayā, are placed in the west.<sup>9</sup> Ekavīrā, Harasiddhi and Caṇḍikā are placed in the north.<sup>10</sup> These nine goddessess established

1. Sk., I. ii. 47. 8-9.

2. Ibid., I. ii. 47. 10. 22.

3. Ibid., I. iii. 19. 42-46.

4. Ibid., I. iii. 21-31.

5. Ibid., III. iii. 7. 12 (i).

6. Ibid., I. ii. 47. 23 (i).

7. Ibid., IV. ii. 83. 33.

8. Ibid., I. ii. 47. 24-46(i).

9. Ibid., I. ii. 47. 46(ii)-55(i).

10. Ibid., I. ii. 47. 55(ii)-68.



near Bahūdaka kuṇḍa were to be worshipped along with the four Dig-devīs, particularly during the Navarātra in the month of Āśvina.<sup>1</sup>

**Nine Mātṛkas**—There is another list of nine mothers (nava matṛkāḥ) viz., Mahāmārī, Pūtana, Kṛtyā, Śakunī, Revatī, Khālā, Koṭarī, Tāmasī and Māyā, destroyer of the wicked and the vice.<sup>2</sup> Probably these goddesses were placed on the bank of the river Śiprā<sup>3</sup> near Kalabhairava tīrtha.

**Fourteen Devis**<sup>4</sup>—Barbarika, son of Ghoṭotkaca and grand-son of Bhīma deified Mothers and obtained from the Devī immense power and unfailing weapons from Her.<sup>5</sup> When he was killed by Kṛṣṇa just before the beginning of the Epic War, the fourteen goddesses viz., Siddhāmbika, Krodhamātā, Kapālī, Tārā, Suvarṇā, Trilokajetrī, Bhāṇeśvarī, Carcikā, Ekavīrā, Yogeśvarī, Caṇḍikā, Traipurā (Tripurā), Bhūtāmbikā and Harasiddhi appeared there.<sup>6</sup> These goddesses were adored at Gupta ksetra (Śrī Gupta ksetradevi samārādhana prāptatula vīrya)<sup>7</sup> in the city of Mahānagara<sup>8</sup> near Mahiśāgara.

**Twentyfour Devis**—While giving an account of Ujjayinī (Kuśasthālī), Skanda enumerates different gods and goddesses.<sup>9</sup> Here Skanda refers to twentyfour goddesses (devyaśca caturviṃśatiḥ).<sup>10</sup> Their names have not been given in the text. These goddesses served Umāpati (Śiva) at Padmāvatī (Ujjain).

**Sixtyfour Devis**—The growing influence of Tāntric Śakti-worship

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1. Sk., I. ii. 47. 77-78.
  2. Ibid., V. i. 64. 8(ii)-9.
  3. Ibid., V. i. 64. 10, the entire chapter deals with the glorification of Kalabhairava tīrtha.
  4. Ibid., I. ii. 66. 52.
  5. Ibid., I. ii. 66. 37(i), 45.
  6. Ibid., I. ii. 66. 52-54 (i).
  7. Ibid., I. ii. 66. 115.
  8. Ibid., I. ii. 66. 117.
  9. Ibid., V. i. 45. 6-10.
  10. Ibid., V. i. 45. 9(ii).



led to growth in the number of Mothers which is mentioned to be sixty-four in the early medieval Śākta texts and the late Purāṇas like the Agni and others,<sup>1</sup> as well as in the Śākta Upapurāṇas.<sup>2</sup>

**Catuḥ-ṣaṣṭi gaṇā mātṛṇām** (Sk., VI. 164. 42)—Skanda also refers to 64 Mothers who were worshipped in the city of Camatkārapura in Ānartta.<sup>3</sup> When the world was troubled by the demons Bala and Atibala, the sons of Mahiṣāsura, the gods and sages went to the Goddess Mahādevī in the Himavanta-vana and prayed to Her.<sup>4</sup> The Goddess destroyed the demons and came to reside at Prabhāsa kṣetra in the company of 64 yoginīs.<sup>5</sup> Their names are :—

Mahalakṣmī, Nandā, Kṣemamkarī, Śivadutī, Mahābhadrā, Bhramarī, Candramaṇḍalā, Revatī, Harasiddhi, Durgā, Viṣamalocanā, Sahajā, Kulajā, Kubjā, Māyavī, Śambhavī, Kriyā, Ādyā, Sarvagatā, Śuddha, Bhavagamyā, Manotigā, Vidyā, Avidyā, Mahamayā, Suṣumnā, Sarva-maṅgalā, Omkāratmā, Vedārtha-Jnani, Śiva, Purāṇā, Ānvikṣakī, Dikṣā, Camuṇḍā, Śaṅkara-priyā, Brāhmī, Śāntikarī, Gaurī, Brahmayā, Brāhmaṇa-priyā, Bhadrā, Bhagavatī, Kṛṣṇā, Grahanakṣatramālinī, Tripurā, Tvarita, Nityā, Sāṅkhyā, Kuṇḍalinī, Dhruvā, Kalyāṇī, Śobhana, Natyā, Niṣkalā, Paramā, Kalā, Yoginī, Yogasadbhava, Yogagamyā, Guhaśayā, Katyayani, Umā, Śarvā, Aparṇā.<sup>6</sup> This stotra comprising the names of 64 yoginīs is to be recited to propitiate the goddess Caṇḍikā.<sup>7</sup>

There is another list of sixty-four yoginīs, the recitation and muttering of whose names brings happiness and peace, warding off all the evil spirits.

Gajānanā, Siṅha-mukhī, Gṛdhrāsyā, Kāka-tuṇḍikā, Uṣṭragrīva, Hayagrīvā, Vārahī, Śarabhananā, Ulūkikā, Śivarāvā, Mayūrī, Vikāṭanānā, Aṣṭavakrā, Koṭarākṣī, Kubjā, Vikāṭalocanā, Śuṣkodarī, Lalajji-

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1. PTR., pp. 128-129.
  2. St. UP., Vol. II, pp. 1, 15-17, 34.
  3. Sk., VI. 164. 42-46.
  4. Ibid., VII. i. 119. 15 ff.
  5. Ibid., VII. i. 119. 53.
  6. Ibid., VII. i. 119. 54-62.
  7. Ibid., VI. i. 119. 63-6.



hva, Aśvadaṇṣṭrā, Vanārananā, Rkṣākṣī, Kekarākṣī, Bṛhattuṇḍā, Surā-priyā, Kapālahastā, Raktākṣī Śukī, Śyenī, Kapotikā, Pāśahastā, Pracandā, Caṇḍavikramā, Śīsughnī, Papahantrī, Kālī, Rudhirpāyinī, Vasa-dhaya, Garbhabhaksā, Śavahastā, Antremālinī, Sthūlakeśī, Bṛhatkuksi Sarpāsya-Pretavāhanā, Dendaśukakarā, Krauñcī, Mṛgaśīrṣā, Vṛṣānana, Vyattasyā, Dhumaṇiśvāsa, Vyomaikacaraṇordhvadrk, Tāpanī, Śoṣaṇī-dṛṣṭī, Kotarī, Sthūlanāsikā, Vidyutprabhā, Balakāsyā, Mārjarī, Kaṭapū-tanā, Aṭṭaṭṭahāsā, Kāmākṣī, Mṛgākṣī, Mṛgalocanā.<sup>1</sup> These 64 yoginīs are associated with the sacred city of Kāśī, which itself is styled the Śakti of Śiva.<sup>2</sup>

The different lists noted above show that Śakti is variously named and numbered. Their number was rather fluid, but when the lesser Śaktis were added to the major ones it swelled to seven or eight, and then by the usual process of multiplication, it rose from eight to sixteen and then to sixty-four or more in the Purāṇic and Jain accounts and they were then considered as Yoginīs.<sup>3</sup> Skanda too justifies the above observations as we find gradually the increasing number of Mothers. It further adds that one was divided into nine then into ten, sixty-four, a hundred, a thousand and even a lac, because of different forms, weapons or instruments of music.<sup>4</sup>

The principal gods of the Brahmnical Trimūrti had their female counterparts and of these Viṣṇu-śakti and Śambhu-śakti were very important. Brahmā-śakti known as Brahmāṇī (or Brāhmī) also played an important role in the religious life of the country.

While dealing with the importance of Śakti-worship, the Skanda Purāṇa narrates an interesting story. When Bhīma saw Yudhiṣṭhira worshipping Devī, he exclaimed that no wise man like him would go to the refuge of women; he knew it well that she was 'mūḍha-jaḍa-prakṛti' who had charmed the whole world. Yudhiṣṭhira, thus provoked by Bhīma, dwelt upon the importance of Devī-Bhakti.<sup>5</sup> He told that

1. Sk., IV. i. 45. 34-41.

2. Ibid., IV. i. 45. 28 (i)-29.

3. A. I. K., p. 341 (1st Edn.).

4. Sk., V. iii. 14. 50-51.

5. Ibid., I. ii. 65. 13.



Mahāmāyā is worshipped by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and by Śiva.<sup>1</sup> Paramatma Śvara can not desert her, and Vāsudeva, too, always respects the Supreme Śakti.<sup>2</sup> But Bhīma did not recognise her and he lost his sight,<sup>3</sup> which was restored to him only when he, too, offered prayers to the goddess. She is described as Brahmī, Vaiṣṇavi and Śāmbhavi, representing the Śaktis of Trimūrti.<sup>4</sup> Besides the Śaktis of these three principal deities, the Śaktis of other gods are also mentioned in the Purāṇa. These are :—

Vinayikī, the Śakti of Vinayaka, Aindrī, the Śakti of Indra, Āgneyī, the Śakti of Agni, Vāruṇī, the Śakti of Varuṇa,<sup>5</sup> and Kaumārī, the Śakti of Kumāra<sup>6</sup> (Karttikeya).

Skanda also mentions Vāṇī, Lakṣmī, Kṣamā, Śraddhā, Prajñā, Svahā, Svadhā, etc. Thus there are innumerable Śaktis.<sup>7</sup>

Śaktis were worshipped for the attainment of different objects like 'māraṇa' (destruction of enemy), 'mohana' (charm), 'vaśya' (bringing one under control), ākarṣaṇa (attracting one to his presence) and 'kṣobhaṇa' (disturbing or agitating one).<sup>8</sup> Bāṇḍhanaṁ, mohanaṁ, uccaṭanaṁ and Vaśikaraṇaṁ of an enemy was also achieved through her worship.<sup>9</sup>

As regards the mode of worship, the usual practices were followed such as the offering of dhūpa, karpūra, dīpa (with red thread), flowers, naivedya, ācchādanam (vastreṇa-saṅchadya), arghya, daṇṭa-dhavana (ācamanaṁ), and 'praśana' etc. accompanied by the recitation of prayers,<sup>10</sup> of which, the Devī-stotra<sup>11</sup> is the most important. Gaurī is

1. Sk., I. ii. 65. 36.
2. Ibid., I. ii. 65, 37, 38.
3. Ibid., I. ii. 65. 45.
4. Ibid., I. ii. 65. 52.
5. Ibid., I. ii. 62. 60.
6. Ibid., I. iiiu. 19. 44.
7. Ibid., I. iiiu. 84. 42.
8. Ibid., III. ii. 20. 27.
3. Ibid., VI. 144. 94.
10. Ibid., VI. 144. 94.
11. Ibid., VI. 178. 37-38.



also to be pleased by the recitation of Mantra-pañcakam.<sup>1</sup> Along with these, she should also be propitiated by means of gīta (songs), nr̥tya (dance) and pravādita (instrumental music).<sup>2</sup>

These abhicārika features of the Śākta cult during the age under review were due to the influence of Tāntricism. Along with the recitation of the Āgamic mantras, Devī was also to be offered wine and meat.<sup>3</sup> Devī is called as devoted to the use of wine and meat (Surā-māṇsa-bali-priyā).<sup>4</sup> The list of 64 yoginīs mentioned above contains a name of the goddess as Surāpriyā.<sup>5</sup> Thus Devī worshipped by the offerings of wine and meat brought the fulfilment of all the desires.<sup>6</sup> Devī should be worshipped with the offerings of mahiṣa (buffalo) or meṣa (sheep).<sup>7</sup> If on the occasion of Mahānavamī one makes offering of 'mahīṣa', 'surā', 'māṇsa and a garland of Bela-fruits after sacrificing a goat, with devotion, he attains all.<sup>8</sup> To Parameśvarī the libations (tarpaṇa) of wine should be offered.<sup>9</sup>

These references clearly point to the Tantric practices, which became prominent in the early medieval India. Bhavabhūti in his *Malatīmādhava* offers prayers to her.<sup>10</sup> Yaśovarman of Kanauj worshipped Vīṇḍhyavasīnī in the course of his victorious march towards Gauḍa. Vākpatirāja has given an account of rituals and religious practices associated with her worship. Yaśovarman offered his prayers to her.<sup>11</sup> Gauḍavāho presents a picture of the temple of Vīṇḍhyavasīnī,<sup>12</sup> which is still a shrine of great celebrity. The offering of wine and meat to her is deprecated as 'āsuram-bhāvam'.<sup>13</sup>

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1. Sk., I. ii. 65. 12.
  2. Ibid., VI. 177. 54.
  3. Ibid., VI. 177. 20.
  4. Ibid., VI. 169. 18.
  5. Ibid., IV. i. 45. 36 (ii).
  6. Ibid., V. i. 18. 3.
  7. Ibid., V. i. 18. 4.
  8. Ibid., V. i. 13. 4.
  9. Ibid., VII. i. 83. 51.
  10. *Malatimadhava*, V. 1.
  11. GV., Verse, 304.
  12. Ibid., Verses 285, 294.
  13. Sk., VII. i. 119. 68.



Skanda also refers to Tantrikas<sup>1</sup> i. e. well-versed in the Tantras. They occupied an important position in the court of King Bhoja of Kanauj along with the other dignitaries of the state like Purohita, Guru, Vipras, Ācāryas, Daivajñas, Mantrajñas, and Bhiṣajas.<sup>2</sup>

While discussing 'the Śakti-Piṭha concept' Dr. J. N. Banerjee observes that "The Piṭha-pūjā concept was much in vogue in the middle of the seventh century....D. C. Sircar while editing a manuscript named Piṭhanirṇaya or Mahāpiṭhanirūpaṇa in the collection of the Asiatic Society has collected much useful and valuable information about this aspect of Śakti worship. He has shown that, though the general tradition about the number of the Śakti-piṭhas in modern Bengal in different Purāṇas....."<sup>3</sup>

While dealing with the glorification of Śūleśvara and Śūleśvarī, placed on the bank of the river Narmadā,<sup>4</sup> Skanda refers to the rise of Śiva (Śūleśvara) and Devī (Śūleśvarī).<sup>5</sup> Though the whole world is stated to be permeated with Her presence,<sup>6</sup> yet there are some places which are to be visited by those who desire to obtain siddhi. Here we find 108 names of the goddess associated with their Shrines placed in the different parts of the country. These are the following :

#### ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHT NAMES OF DEVI

No.	Devi	Place	Modern Identification
1.	Viśalakṣī	Vārāṇasī	Vārāṇasī (Banaras)
2.	Liṅgadhariṇī	Naimiṣa	Nimsar, Distt. Sitapur, (U.P.)
3.	Lalitadevī	Prayāga	Prayāga (U.P.)

1. Sk., VII. ii. 6. 48.

2. Ibid., VII. ii. 6. 47-48.

3. PTR., pp. 124-125

4. Sk., V. iii. 198. 5ff.

5. Ibid., V. iii. 198. 57-58.

6. Ibid., V. iii. 198. 63.



No.	Devi	Place	Modern Identification
4.	Kāmukā	Gandhamādana	Hill near Badrinath (Pauri-Garhwal)
5.	Kumudā	Mānasa	Mānasarovar Region.
6.	Viśvakayā	Aparā (?)	
7.	Gomatī	Gomanta	
8.	Kāmacāriṇī	Mandara	
9.	Madotkaṭa	Caitraratha	
10.	Hayantī	Hastināpura	Hastinapur, Distt. Meerut (U.P.)
11.	Gaurī	Kānyakubja	Kanauj (U.P.)
12.	Rambhā	Amala-parvata	
13.	Kīrtimatī	Ekāmra	Bhuvaneshvar (Orissa)
14.	Visva	Visvesvara	
15.	Puruhūtā	Puṣkara	Pushkar (Ajmer, Rajasthan)
16.	Mārgadāyini	Kedāra	Kedar (Pauri)
17.	Nandā	Himavat	
18.	Bhadrakarṇikā	Gokarṇa	
19.	Bhavānī	Sthāneśvara	Thaneshwar, Distt. Karnal; (Haryana)
20.	Bilvapatrikā	Bilvaka	
21.	Mādhavī	Śrīśaila	Celebrated Hill of Southern India.
22.	Bhadreśvari	Bhadra	
23.	Jayā	Varāhaśaila	
24.	Kamalā	Kamalālaya	
25.	Kalyāṇī	Rudrakoti	
26.	Kālī	Kālāñjara	Bundelkhand
27.	Kapilā	Mahāliṅga	
28.	Mukuteśvari	Makoṭa	
29.	Mahādevī	Śaligrāma	



No.	Devi	Place	Modern Identification
30.	Jalapriyā	Śivaliṅga	
31.	Kumārī	Māyāpurī	
32.	Lalitā	Santāna	
33.	Utpalākṣī	Sahasrākṣa	
34.	Mahotpalā	Hiraṇyākṣa	
35.	Vimalā	Gaya	
36.	Maṅgalā	Puruṣottama	Puri (Orissa)
37.	Amoghākṣī	Vipāśa	
38.	Pāṭalā	Puṇḍravardhana	Mahasthan
39.	Nārāyaṇī	Supārśva	
40.	Bhadrasundarī	Triakūṭa	
41.	Vipulā	Vipula	
42.	Kalyāṇī	Malayācala	
43.	Koṭavī	Koṭitīrtha	
44.	Sugandhā	Gandhamādana	
45.	Trisandhyā	Godāśrama	
46.	Ratipriyā	Gaṅgādvāra	
47.	Sabhanandā	Śivacanda	
48.	Nandinī	Devikāṭaṭa	
49.	Rukmiṇī	Dvāravati	Dwarka
50.	Radhā	Vṛndāvana	Near Mathura (U. P.).
51.	Devakī	Mathurā	Mathura (U. P.)
52.	Parameśvarī	Pātala	
53.	Sītā	Citrakūṭa	Chitrakut, Distt; Banc a (U. P.).
54.	Vindhyavāsini	Vindhya	Vindhyachal, Distt; Mirzapur (U. P.)
55.	Ekavīrā	Sahyādri	Western Ghats.
56.	Caṇḍikā	Hariścandra	
57.	Ramaṇā	Rāmatīrtha	
58.	Mṛgāvati	Yamunā	



No.	Devi	Place	Modern Identification
59.	Mahālakṣmī	Karavīra	
60.	Rūpadevī	Vināyaka	
61.	Ārogyā	Vaidyanātha	
62.	Māheśvarī	Mahākāla	
63.	Abhayā	Uṣṇatīrtha	
64.	Mrgī	Vindhyakandara	
65.	Māṇḍukī	Māṇḍavya	
66.	Svāhā	Māheśvarapura	
67.	Pracaṇḍā	Chāgalingā	
68.	Caṇḍikā	Amarakaṇṭaka	
69.	Varārohā	Someśvara	
70.	Puṣkarāvati	Prabhāsa	
71.	Vedamātā	Sarasvatī	
72.	Pārā	Pārātata	
73.	Mahābhāgā	Mahālaya	
74.	Piṅgaleśvarī	Payoṣṇī	
75.	Sīṃhikā	Kṛtaśauca	
76.	Śāṅkarī	Karttika	
77.	Lolā	Utpalāvartaka	
78.	Subhadra	Śoṇasaṅgama	
79.	Lakṣmī	Siddhavaṭa	
80.	Taraṅgā	Bharatāśrama	
81.	Viśvamukhī	Jālandhara	Jullundhur (East Punjab).
82.	Tārā	Kiṣkindha-parvata	
83.	Puṣṭi	Devadāruvana	
84.	Medhā	Kāśmīra maṇḍala	Kashmir
85.	Bhīmā	Himādri	
86.	Puṣṭi	Vastreśvara	
87.	Śuddhi	Kapālamocana	
88.	Mātā	Kāyāvarohaṇa	Karavaṇa
89.	Dhvani	Śaṅkhoddhāra	



No.	Devi	Place	Modern Identification
90.	Dhṛtī	Piṇḍāraka	
91.	Kalā	Candrabhāgā	
92.	Śaktidhārīṇī	Acchoda	
93.	Amṛtā	Veṇā	
94.	Urvaśī	Badarī	Badrinath (Pauri)
95.	Oṣadhī	Uttarakuru	
96.	Kuśodakā	Kuśadvīpa	
97.	Marmatha	Hemakūṭa	
98.	Satyavādīnī	Kumuda	
99.	Vandinikā	Aśvattha	
100.	Nidhi	Vaiśravaṇālaya	Abode of Kuvera.
101.	Gāyatrī	Vedavādāna	
102.	Pārvatī	Near Śiva	
103.	Indraṇī	Devaloka	
104.	Sarasvatī	Brahmāsya	
105.	Prabhā	Sūryavimba	
106.	Vaiṣṇavī	With Mothers	
107.	Arundhatī	With pious women (Satis)	
108.	Tillottamā	With women (rāmāsu)	
109.	Brahmakālā	Citra (painting)	
110.	Śakti	All creatures	
111.	Śūleśvarī	Bhṛgukṣetra	Broach
112.	Saubhāgyasundarī	Bhṛga. <sup>1</sup>	

These are one hundred and eight (actually 112) names<sup>2</sup> of Śūleśvarī, who is associated here with Bhṛgukṣetra (Broach). It shows that the Mother-Goddess was worshipped in Western India. This list like the similar lists of the other deities reflects the prevalence of Śakti-wor-

1. Sk., V. iii. 198. 64-91.

2. Ibid., V. iii. 198. 57-58.



ship in the different parts of India. The identification of all the places is not possible in the present state of our knowledge. The name of Puṣṭi is repeated (cf. No. 83 and 86). Similarly Gandhamādana (cf. No. 4 and 44) also figures twice. We have two Gandhamādanas—one in the north near Badrinath and the other lay near the Southern Ocean.

Dvārāvati (No. 49), Prabhāsa (No. 70) and Kāyāvarohaṇa (No. 88) etc. as the sacred spots sanctified by the Goddess reflect the prevalence of Śakti-worship in Western India. Puṣkara (No. 15) in Rājasthan and Mahākālā (No. 62, at Ujjain) in Malwa were also centres of Śakti-cult in this region. Name of the Goddess Pārā placed on the bank of the river Pārā (Pārātata, No. 72) deserves notice. Pārā may be the same as the Pārvatī, which rises in Bhopal.....<sup>1</sup> The celebrated town of Padmāvati lay not far from it at the confluence of Pārā and Sindha. Amarakaṇṭaka and Māheśvarapura (No. 66, Maheśvar in Indore District) were sacred places on the river Narmadā.<sup>2</sup> Vārāṇasī, Naimiṣa, Prayāga, Hastināpura, Kānyakubja, Kedāra, Kālāñjara, Māyāpurī, Gaṅgādvāra, Vṛndāvana, Mathurā, Citrakūṭa and Badarī are the famous places of the U.P. Sthāneśvara, Jalandhara, Vipāśa (the river Beas) and Devikataṭa were the centres of Śakti-worship in the Punjab. Kāśmīra too had the shrine of Medhā. Ekāmra and Puruṣottama in Orissa, Gayā and Vaidyanatha in Bihar and Puṇḍravardhana in Bengal represent the prevalence of Devī-worship in Eastern India.<sup>3</sup>

Gomanta, Śrisaila, Malayācala, Godāśrama, Sahyādri, Karavīra, Payoṣṇī and Veṇā represent the worship of the goddess in Southern India.

Some epithets like Nidhi, Gayitri, and Brahmakālā respectively associated with Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera, the god of wealth), Veda and Citra are very interesting.

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1. Cf. SCJ., pp. 87-91, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Śakti-cult in Western India.
  2. GAMI., p. 46, Note 2.
  3. Cf. PTR., pp. 129-130, for 'Devi-worship in Orissa'. Cf. SCT, pp. 74-86 for 'The evolution of Śakti-cult at Jaipur, Bhubneswar and Puri'.  
Ibid., pp. 92-100 for Śakti worship in Rajasthan.



## SUN WORSHIP

**Introduction**—“The Indians like most other ancient nations of the world worshipped the sun-god in a general way from a very early period.....Sūrya with some of his various aspects came to play great part in the religious life of the R̥gvedic people, and the solar divinities continued to claim deep respect from the Indians of the later Vedic age. The epic literature also contains many references to their worship..... But some of the Purāṇas like the Bhaviṣya, Śamba, Varāha, Agni, etc. and several other texts show that the East Iranian form of sun worship, introduced into India about the beginning of the Christian era, came to reorientate the cult in Northern India to a very large extent. This fact has been further corroborated by a large mass of archaeological data”.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hazra also observes that “The sun has been, under different names, an object of great adoration from the early Vedic period and.....there arose quite early a fairly extensive literature.....on the praise and worship of this god.....but of the numerous Purāṇic works now extant it is only the Śamba-p. which deals principally with the cult of the Sun. Chapters and extracts on the method and praise of Sun-worship occur in some of the other Purāṇas also viz., Bhaviṣya-p., Brahma-p., Skanda-p., Varāha-p., Matsya-p., Agni-p., Garuḍa-p., Viṣṇudharmottara, Bhaviṣyottara, Kālikā-p., and so on”.<sup>2</sup>

**Sun-cult, its importance**—The Sun-worship<sup>3</sup> is, also, an ancient and important faith which traces its antiquity from the R̥gvedic epoch. Mārtaṇḍa, styled Pratyakṣadeva, is the saviour of the entire world, here and hereafter (ihāmutra ca).<sup>4</sup> Those, who worship him or sing songs in his glory with devotion or contemplate upon him, are exalted persons, whose desires are fulfilled.<sup>5</sup> Thus Sūrya-bhakti is believed to be a source of happiness destroying sins and miseries.<sup>6</sup> Sūrya-bhakti is also based on the performance of such rites and pious acts (pūjā-Vidhi)

1. PTR., p. 133.

2. St. Up., Vol. I, p. 29.

3. Sk., VII. i. 236. 33.

4. Ibid., I. ii. 43. 2.

5. Ibid., I. ii. 43. 3.

6. Ibid., I. ii. 43. 4.



as charity, sacrifice, respectful obeisance and the muttering of his name (ravi) comprising only two letters.<sup>1</sup> Nārada claims to have pleased the deity by means of 'japa' based on pure 'chanda' and also by worshipping the image of sun.<sup>2</sup> The sage also propitiated the sun by singing different 'sāma' prayers as well as by practising asceticism.<sup>3</sup> Yājñavalkya also worshipped sun<sup>4</sup> from whom he learnt the Vedas. Śāmba was also cured of leprosy by blessings of the sun whom he worshipped with intense devotion and fervent appeal.<sup>5</sup> King Rāja Vardhana and other people are mentioned to have worshipped him in the past (Rājavaradhana rājñā aradhita ca janaiḥ purā).<sup>6</sup> We know from Banskhera Copper Plate Inscription of Harṣavardhana that Maharāja Śrī Rājavaradhana, son of Maharaja Śrī Naravardhana was 'Paramāditya-bhakta' (Banskhera Pl. Ins., 1. 1). Thus it is evident that Sūrya-bhakti was popular among the learned sages, princes and people.

Rightly so, Sūrya, the soul of the universe (Sūryātmasya jagat-asya), is styled enemy of darkness (tamaso ripuḥ).<sup>7</sup> He destroys tāmasīsthitī i.e. vicious state of affairs (akurvan tāmasīm sthitīm), augmenting the life of law and piety (saṁvardhayan satām dharmaṁ) and he bestows life, light and lustre upon the persons who are asleep and unconscious.<sup>8</sup> Heralding time for the performance of divine worship as well as religious rites, and sacrifices viz., havyam, kavyam, bhūtabaliṁ and deva (i. e. five yajñas).<sup>9</sup> Thus he stimulates a new life pulsating with vigour and vision based on virtue destroying vice, darkness and ignorance.<sup>10</sup> The rise of sun marks the dawn of piety (samyak puṇyajanodayaḥ).<sup>11</sup>

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1. Sk., I. ii. 43. 5-7.

2. Ibid., I. ii. 43. 8-10.

3. Ibid., I. ii. 43. 11-11.

4. Ibid., VI. 129. 54.

5. Ibid., VII. i. 101. 49-50.

6. Ibid., I. ii. 43. 14.

7. Ibid., IV. i. 2. 1.

8. Ibid., IV. i. 2. 2.

9. Ibid., IV. i. 2. 3.

10. Ibid., IV. i. 2. 4.

11. Ibid., IV. i. 2. 5.



Importance of the Sun is rooted in the Vedas.<sup>1</sup> Sun is the source of life and light to the entire world (Sūryam trailokya-dīpakam).<sup>2</sup> He gives protection to all (Ādityaḥ pālayet sarvaṁ) and he, too, destroys everything (Ādityaḥ saṁharet sarvaṁ); and he is eulogised in Trayī i.e. three Vedas (eṣa trayīmayāḥ).<sup>3</sup> He causes rain, which is basis of the growth of agriculture—the main sustenance of life in this world (ādityājjāyate vṛṣṭir vṛṣṭerannaṁ tataḥ prajāḥ).<sup>4</sup> He is the treasure of atoms.<sup>5</sup>

Daily worship viz., 'Sāṁdhya' (meditation and muttering of the selected hymns), 'Prāṇāyāma' (controlling of vital air) and Gāyatri (prayer to Savitā) follow the sun-worship which is held high in esteem bringing the blessings of all the gods viz., Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, Indra etc. and also of the great sages like Marici. Image of the sun is to be worshipped by the offerings of oblations.<sup>6</sup>

**Solar worship**—The mode of solar worship also rests on the performance of the well-known upacāras viz., arghya, pādya, āvahana, svāgata, prasāda, pūja, vijñāpana, āsana, kṣīra-snāpana, jala-snāna, vastra-dāna, aṅga-prāvaraṇam yajñopavītaṁ, and alaṅkāra-nivedanaṁ, anulepanaṁ, 'puṣpagandha', 'dhūpa', 'naivedyaṁ', 'saucodakatāmbūla', 'dīpa', 'arartika', śītalikāpūjā (again), stuti, kṣamā-yācanaṁ, 'namana' and lastly charities to Brahmanas.<sup>7</sup> This is the vidhi of solar worship.<sup>8</sup>

Adorations to the sun were offered both to his image and symbolic representation (mūrtau maṇḍalake'pi vā).<sup>9</sup>

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1. Sk., IV. i. 49. 34.
  2. Ibid., VII. i. 101. 49.
  3. Ibid., VII. i. 17. 4.
  4. Ibid., VII. i. 24. 90.
  5. Ibid., VII. i. 130. 53.
  6. Ibid., IV. i. 35. 164-168.
  7. Ibid., I. ii. 43. 62-72.
  8. Ibid., I. ii. 43. 74.
  9. Ibid., I. ii. 43. 73.



Solar worship also comprised muttering of the Savitra-sūkta<sup>1</sup> which was dear to the Sun (sūktaṁ Bhāskaravallabham).<sup>2</sup>

Oṁ kṇakholkāya namaḥ.<sup>3</sup>

### SIXTY-EIGHT SHRINES OF SUN

(Bhāsharasya Aṣṭaṣṭim)

Skanda refers to sixty-eight names of the Sun enumerated by Vasiṣṭha.<sup>4</sup> They are associated with his shrines placed in the different parts of the country. These are :—

No.	Name of aditya	Name of tirtha	Modern identification
1.	(In the morning) Muṇḍirasvami	Gaṅgāsāgara	
2.	(In the noon) Kālapriya	Kālapriya on Yamunā	Kalpi (U.P.)
3.	(At sunset) Mūlasthāna	Mūlasthāna on Candrabhāgā	Multan (West Punjab)
Here Śamba attained success by observing fasts—			
4.	Lohitākṣa	Vārānāsī	Vārānāsī
5.	Bṛhanmukha	Godhilakṣa	
6.	Pratiṣṭhāna	Prayāga	
7.	Vṛddhaditya	Mahadyuti (Vṛddhadityam mahadhyutau). <sup>5</sup>	
8.	Dvādaśaditya	Koṭyakṣa or Kopajñā. <sup>6</sup>	

1. Sk., VI. 129. 63.

2. Ibid., VI. 136. 4.

3. Ibid., I. ii. 43. 55(i).

4. Ibid., VIII. i. 139. 8.

5. N. K., Prabhāsa, CXXXIII. 14; S. V. Text is faulty.

6. Ibid., CXXXIII. 14(i).



No.	Name of aditya	Name of tirtha	Modern identification
9.	Gaṅgāditya	Caturghaṭa or Caturvata. <sup>1</sup>	
10.	Goghna or Golastha <sup>2</sup>	Naimiṣa	Nimsar, Distt. Sitapur (U.P.)
11.	Bhadra	Bhadraputa	
12.	Vijayaditya	Jaya	
13.	Svarṇavetasa	Prabhāsa	
14.	Sāmantā	Kurukṣetra	
15.	Mitra (Trimantram SV).	Ilāvṛta	
16.	Kramaṇāditya	Mahendra	
17.	Siddheṣvara	Ṛṇa	
18.	Padmabodha	Kauṣāmbi	Kosam, Distt. Allahabad (U.P.)
19.	Divākara	Brahmavāha	Bahmanabad
20.	Caṇḍakānti or Chandrapratyūṣa. <sup>3</sup>	Kedāra	Kedar (Pauri).
21.	Timirāpaha	Nitya	
22.	Śivadvāra	Gaṅgāmārga or Gaṅgādvāra. <sup>4</sup>	Hardwar (Distt. Saharanpur, U.P.)
23.	Āditya	Bhupradīpana	
24.	Haṇsa	Sarasvatī-tīra	Sarasvata mandala.
25.	Viśvāmitra	Pṛthūdaka	Pehoa (Distt, Karnal).
26.	Naradvīpa	Ujjayini	Ujjain.
27.	Amaladyuti	Siddha	
28.	Sūrya	Kuntikumāra	

1. N. K., Prabhāsa CXXXIII. 14(ii).

2. Ibid., CXXXIII. 15(i).

3. Ibid., CXXXIII. 16(i).

4. Ibid., CXXXIII. 17(i).



No.	Name of aditya	Name of tirtha	Modern identification
29.	Vidhāvasu	Pañchanadī	
30.	Vimalāditya	Mathurā	
31.	Sañjñābitya	Sañjñika or Sañjñaka. <sup>1</sup>	
32.	Mārtaṇḍa	Śrīkaṇṭha	
33.	Deśāka or Daṇḍaka. <sup>2</sup>	Daśārṇa	
34.	Gopatideva	Godhana	
35.	Karṇa	Marusthala	
36.	Puṣpa	Devapura	
37.	Kasavarka	Lohita	
38.	Śārdula	Vaidīśa	Vidisha (M.P.).
39.	Varuṇa vāsī	Śoṇa	
40.	Śāmba	Vardhamāna	
41.	Subhāmkara	Kāmarūpa	Assam.
42.	Mihira	Kānyakubja	Kanauj.
43.	Mandara	Puṇyavardhana	
44.	Ksobhaṇāditya	Gandhāra	Gandhara (Distt. Pashwar).
45.	Amaradyuti	Laṅkā	
46.	Karṇāditya	Campā	Champa.
47.	Śubhadarśī	Prabodha	
48.	Pārvatya	Dvāravatī	Dwarka
49.	Himāpaha	Himavanta	Himalay.
50.	Mahāteja	Lauhitya	
51.	Dhurjati	Amalāṅga	
52.	Kumara	Rohika (Rohitaka ?)	
53.	Padma-sambhava	Padma.	
54.	Dharmāditya	Lāṭa	

1. N. K., Prabhasa, CXXXIII. 19(i).

2. Ibid., CXXXIII. 19(ii).



No.	Name of Āditya	Name of tīrtha	Modern identification
55.	Sthavira	Marddaka (or Arbuda). <sup>1</sup>	Abu (Rajasthan)
56.	Sukhaprada	Kauberī	
57.	Gopati	Kośala	
58.	Padmadeva	Kauṅkaṇa	
59.	Tāpana	Vindhyaparvata	
60.	Tvaṣṭā	Kāśmīra	
61.	Ratnasambhava	Caritra	
62.	Hemagarbhastha	Puṣkara	Pushkar (near Ajmer) (Rajasthan).
63.	Sūrya	Gabhastika	
64.	Mujjhala	Prakaśa	
65.	Prabhākara	Tīrthagrama	
66.	Rillakāditya	Kāmpilya	
67.	Dhanavāsī	Dhanaka or Dhanyaka.	
68.	Anala	Narmadā-tīra. <sup>2</sup>	

The recitation of these sixty-eight names of Bhāskara Deva in the morning fulfils the desires of a devotee.<sup>3</sup> Many of the places associated with solar-shrines are not identified, but a few of them like Gaṅga-sagara, Kālapriya, Mūlasthāna, Vāraṇasī, Prayāga, Naimiṣa, Prabhāsa, Pṛthūdaka, Kurukṣetra, Mahendra, Kauśāmbī, Brahmanātha, Kedāra, Gaṅgāmarga, Ujjayinī, Mathura, Śrīkaṇṭha, Daśarṇa, Marusthala, Vaidīśa, Vardhamāna, Kamarūpa, Kānyakubja, Gandhāra, Laṅkā, Campā, Dvāravātī, Lauhitya, Laṭa, Kośala, Kauṅkaṇa, Vindhya, Kāśmīra, Puṣkara, Kāmpilya, and Narmadātīra are well-known places. Ilvarta (placed around Meru or Pamirs) comprising the shrine of Mitra is important; because the name Mitra or Mithra figures on the Kuṣāṇa coins.

1. N.K., Prabhāsa Kh., CXXXIII. 28(i).

2. Sk., VII. i. 139. 11-29(i).

3. Ibid., VII. i. 139. 29(ii)-32.



At Kālapriya or Kalpi (U. P.) the Sun is still worshipped under the name of Kālapadeva in the form of a symbol which is a wheel or disc representing a lotus. These facts support the importance of Kalpi or Kālapriya as an important centre of Sun-worship.

Deo-Baraṇārka Inscription of Jivitagupta II is "an inscription of solar worship, its object being to record the continuance of the grant of village either Varuṇikā or Kiśoravāṭaka to the sun under the title of Varuṇavāsin, a name which is of some interest, as apparently preserving the ancient belief, in accordance with which Varuṇa, literally 'that which envelopes', meant the all-encompassing sky, before it became the name of the ocean-god Varuṇa, who himself was originally looked upon as one of the twelve Ādityas, or forms of the Sun, the offspring of Aditi."<sup>1</sup>

Fleet adds : "Varuṇikā is plainly the modern Deo-Barnark itself. In the modern name the first component is deva, 'a god', and the second, a corruption of Varuṇārka, evidently gives name of a later conception of the original god, embodying the attributes of the Sun (ark) with those of Varuṇa".<sup>2</sup> The list of 68 shrines of the Sun mentioned above refers to Varuṇavāsin of Śoṇa (No. 39, Śoṇe Varuṇa-vāsinam)<sup>3</sup> who is to be identified with "Śrī Varuṇavāsin bhāṭṭāraka"<sup>4</sup> or Bhagavacchri Varuṇavāsī bhāṭṭāraka<sup>5</sup> of the above inscription associated with the ruler of the Guptas of Magadha, which also refers to 'Varuṇa-vāsyāyatanaṁ'.<sup>6</sup> It shows that there was an 'āyatanaṁ' or temple dedicated to the god Varuṇavāsin, as is evident from the Skanda list of the sixtyeight shrines of the Sun. Hence Deo-Baraṇārka, "a village about twentyfive miles south-west of Arrah, the chief town of the Shahabad District" in Bihar should be identified with Śoṇa. Shahabad District, is watered by the river Śoṇa, a tributary of the Ganges. Hence the name Śoṇa seems to have been given to the region watered by the river Śoṇa. Thus the list of these shrines set up in the different parts of the country is very important.

1. CII., Vol. III. pp. 214-215.

2. Ibid. III, p. 215.

3. Sk., VII. i. 139. 21 (ii).

4. Deobarnark Ins. of Jivitagupta II.

5. Ibid., lines 12, 13.

6. Ibid., line 18.



## GAṆAPATI—WORSHIP

Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa occupies an important place in the Paurāṇic religion. He was recognised as a member of Pañcayatana and it led to the foundation of the Gaṇapatya sect. The Purāṇas, inscriptions and icons uphold the importance of Gaṇeśa as a deity who was an object of worship.

“The worship of the elephant-headed and pot-bellied god Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa) cannot be traced back to a very early date like that of Karttikeya mythologically his brother..... There is no mention of him in any of the Gupta inscriptions. Varāhamihira in his enumeration of the Paurāṇic sects does not include the name of the Gaṇapatya, which came to denote a band of exclusive worshippers of Gaṇapati..... All this led R. G. Bhandarkar to come to the conclusion that the exclusive worship of Gaṇeśa, son of Durgā, did not originate even in the Gupta period”<sup>1</sup> Dr. J. N. Banerjea asserts that “The name Gaṇapati alone occurring in some Saṁhita texts would not justify one in finding there any allusion to the Paurāṇic Gaṇeśa..... The different Purāṇas like Śiva, Liṅga, Varāha, Skanda, Brahmavaivarta, etc., and the Āgamas like the Suprabhedāgama give different accounts of the origin of Gaṇapati-Vighneśvara.”<sup>2</sup> Dr. Banerjea concludes that “It is likely that the worship of the god of a peculiar iconography came into being in the late Gupta period, though it took some time to gain a measure of popularity.”<sup>3</sup> Sir R. G. Bhandarkar came to the conclusion, that “Between the end of the fifth and the end of the eighth century the Gaṇapati-cult must have come into practice..... An other Inscription, and an old relic, which indicate the prevalence of the worship of Gaṇapati, are found at Ghatiyālā, 22 miles north-west of Jodhpur. There is a column there on the top of which there are four images of Gaṇapati facing the four quarters. In the opening sentence of the inscription engraved on it, an obeisance is made to Vināyaka. The date of the inscription is Vikram Samvat 918 = A. D. 862”<sup>4</sup>

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1. PTR., pp. 150-151

2. Ibid., pp. 151-152.

3. Ibid., P. 152.

4. CWRGB. p. 212.



Six Varieties of the Gaṇāpatya sect are mentioned by Ānandagiri .....in his Śāṅkara-digvijaya as well as by Dhanapati in his commentary on the corresponding-work of Mādhava."<sup>1</sup> Thus by the age of Śāṅkarācārya six sects of the Gaṇāpatyas have been recognised.

Yakṣa worship which was prominent in the Śunga period is believed to have influenced Gaṇāpati worship.

"It is evident that a cult of Yakṣas and Nāgas continued to flourish in the Kuṣāṇa period, each of these classes of beings evidently partaking in some measure of the character of a *genius loci* or land-weight, and receiving honour as the presiding genius of a city, district, or lake or well. The Yakṣa is massive, and often pot-bellied (*kalodara*) type,... .....the type is likewise adopted to many other purposes...and gives rise not only to the Buddhist Pāñcika-Jambhāla.....but also to the later Hindu Gaṇeśa."<sup>2</sup> Dr. J. N. Banerjea also observes : "Images of of Gaṇāpati, the god who became the principal object of worship of the Gaṇāpatyas, one of the five recognised Brahmanical sects, appear to be basically connected with these two groups of folk divinities."<sup>3</sup>

Gaṇeśa is conceived to be the Lord of intelligence. Mahāgaṇāpati is described as the bestower of success in the attainment of learning and knowledge (*sarva-vidyāpradāyakaḥ*).<sup>4</sup> Vararuci had set up the image of Mahāgaṇāpati for the good of students, and the deity is to be worshipped on the fourth day of Śuklavāsara.<sup>5</sup>

Padma Purāṇa states that Gaṇeśa is to be worshipped in the beginning (of religious rites) for success (*Gaṇeśam pūjayed agre avighnār-*

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1. CWRGB., p. 212-213.

2. HIIA., p. 68.,

DHI., p. 356.

3. DHI., p. 354.

4. Sk., VI. 131. 51.

5. Ibid., VI. 131. 50.



tham)<sup>1</sup>; for by doing so all the gods are propitiated (*asyaiva pūjanadagre devās tuṣṭā bhavantu ca*).<sup>2</sup> It mentions twelve names of the deity (*nāmadādaśakam*) viz., Gaṇapati, Vighnarāja, Lambatuṇḍa, Gajānana, Dvaimatura, Heramba, Ekadanta, Gaṇādhipa, Vināyaka, Cārukarna, Paśupāla and Bhavatmaja, which are to be recited in the morning.<sup>3</sup> Padma also mentions Gaṇapati-stotra.<sup>4</sup> Gaṇādhipa is worshipped in all the rites called Nādimukha,<sup>5</sup> preliminary to any festive occasion such as marriage etc. It also refers to the mantra—‘Gaṇānam tveti’ and also to his images of clay, stone and pictorial representations of the deity meant for his devotional worship.<sup>6</sup> Blessed by Umā he is worshipped for the attainment of siddhi.<sup>7</sup> Brahmavaivartta Purāṇa upholds the glory of Gaṇapati as the Supreme God and Skanda also refers to him as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Skanda recognises Gaṇapatyas representing a separate religious sect like those of Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas, Śāktas and Sauras.<sup>8</sup>

Viśvāmitra went to Kailāsa and propitiated Umā-Maheśvara by means of his penances. Śiva, Himself, asked Viśvāmitra to worship Vināyaka (*Vināyaka-samudbhūtam pūjām*) for the attainment of his object. The latter asked Śiva to describe Gaṇeśa-pūjā.<sup>9</sup> Gaurī, too, desired that her son (Elephant-faced) should be worshipped in the world (*loke pūjyatamo*).<sup>10</sup> Lord Śiva not only infused life and vitality in him, but He blessed him with the lordship of all the Gaṇas. So he was called

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1. Padma P. V. 61. 4. 18.

2. Ibid., V. 61., 20.

3. Ibid., V. 61. 31-32

4. Ibid., V. Chap. 62.

5. Ibid., V. 63. 1. it is also a Śraddha performed in the memory of the manes (Kūrma P., II. 22. 96). Mātṛkas and Gaṇeśvaras are first to be worshipped in the forms of images (Kūrma P., II. 22. 99.)

6. Padma., V. 63. 2-4.

7. Ibid., V. 63. 30.

8. Sk., II. viii. 8. 52

9. Ibid., VI. 214. 44-46.

10. Ibid., VI. 214. 49.



Gaṇanāyaka,<sup>1</sup> who is to be worshipped with devotion on the fourth day of a month. The devotee is blessed with success in all his deeds.<sup>2</sup>

While giving the account of three Gaṇeśas (Gaṇapati-tritayaṁ) set up at Hāṭakeśvara Kṣetra of Ānartta, Skanda refers to the birth of Gaṇeśa, who attained supremacy over all the gaṇas by the blessings of Pārvatī. Thus the deity came to be known as Gaṇanātha or Gaṇeśa, having face of an elephant.<sup>3</sup>

Heramba-Gaṇeśa was a famous deity of Camatkārapura worshipped by the learned Brāhmaṇas of that city.<sup>4</sup> He was worshipped on the fourth day of the bright fortnight of Māgha for the destruction of all the obstacles.<sup>5</sup> Vighneśa was also worshipped at Ayodhyā.<sup>6</sup>

Gaṇādhīpa guarded the southern gate of Satyāpurī in Dharmāraṇya.<sup>7</sup> Dharmāraṇya M. also describes the origin of Gaṇeśa styled Gaṇānana.<sup>8</sup> The gods offered prayers to him.<sup>9</sup> Here he is styled mahādevādhidaivata<sup>10</sup> which shows the glory of Gaṇeśa. He was worshipped by Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas and other pious people of Dharmāraṇya.<sup>11</sup>

He is to be worshipped before the commencement of pilgrimage.<sup>12</sup> Śiva also offered prayers to Gaṇanāyaka at Vārāṇasī.<sup>13</sup> By the favour

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1. Sk., VI. 214. 52.
  2. Ibid., VI. 214. 53.
  3. Ibid., VI. 141. 15-35.
  4. Ibid., VI. 141. 38-40.
  5. Ibid., VI. 141. 41-42.
  6. Ibid., II. viii. 10. 16(ii)-17
  7. Ibid., III. ii. 12. 2(i), 8(ii), 27
  8. Ibid., III. ii. 12. 10-23
  9. Ibid., III. ii. 12. 30-31
  10. Ibid., III. ii. 12. 30(ii)
  11. Ibid., III. ii. 12. 33-39.
  12. Ibid., IV. i. 6. 56.
  13. Ibid., IV. ii. 56. 83-84.



of His son Śiva arrived at Vārāṇasī successfully.<sup>1</sup> Śrīkaṇṭha recited prayer to Dhundhirāja - Vināyaka whose shrine was situated near Maṇikarṇikā.<sup>2</sup>

Brahmā is stated to have worshipped Vināyaka at Ujjayinī called Sthavira.<sup>3</sup> Here, near Mahākala, Vināyaka, styled Vighnanātha-Vighneśa fond of laḍḍukas (sweetmeat) was worshipped near the bank of the river Śīprā.<sup>4</sup> We see that Gaṇeśa had obtained a position of importance and was worshipped even by all the gods, what to say of men (sarva-devānām api pūjyo)<sup>5</sup> particularly in the beginning of their deeds, for the sake of success in their venture.<sup>6</sup> Thus the Elephant-faced deity<sup>7</sup> was highly venerated.

Śiva Purāṇa also eulogises the deity by giving an account of his birth and achievements ( Gaṇeśam-vṛttam..... tajjanma-caritam divyam).<sup>8</sup> Here we notice a fight between Gaṇeśa (Parvati's Gaṇa) and Śivagaṇeśa,<sup>9</sup> as Śiva retired to his place after being struck by Gaṇeśa. Brahmā asked by Śiva went there to persuade Gaṇeśa, but the latter pulled the beard of the former.<sup>10</sup> Brahmā submitted to say that he had not gone there to fight. Despite the submission of Brahmā Gaṇeśa held club in his hand and Brahmā ran away.<sup>11</sup> It enraged Śiva, who now marched to punish Gaṇeśa in the company of the other gods. Pārvaṭī also divided Herself into two forms. Now there began a fierce fight again.<sup>12</sup>

1. Sk., IV. ii. 57. 12-14.

2. Ibid., IV. ii. 57. 17-52.

According to the Brahmāṇḍa P. (III. 67. 43-46) there was a shrine of Gaṇeśvara near the boundary of the city.

3. Sk. V. i. 31. 86-87.

4. Ibid., V. i. 28. 21-26.

5. Ibid., VI. 214. 10.

6. Ibid., VI. 214. 11.

7. Ibid., V. III. 44. 21(ii)-22.

8. Śiva P., II. IV. 13. 3ff.

9. Ibid., II. iv. 13. 35-39; II. iv. 14.1-28; II. iv. 15. 10-20.

10. Ibid., II. IV. 15. 31.

11. Ibid., II. iv. 15. 32-34

12. Ibid., II. IV. 15. 37-60; II. IV. 16. 3-33.



In the end Śiva cut off the head of Gaṇeśa.<sup>1</sup> Later on, to please Śiva, Gaṇeśa was brought to life again and a head of an elephant having one tusk (hastī ekadantakaḥ) was joined with his body.<sup>2</sup> Gaṇānana is thus praised for his glory and he is worshipped by the blessings of Śiva and Pārvatī.<sup>3</sup> Śiva Purāṇa refers to the images of Gaṇeśa made of metal, jewels, and clay etc for the sake of worship.<sup>4</sup> It gives many details about the worship of the deity<sup>5</sup>

**Pūjavidhi :** (Chap. 214 of Nāgara-Kh.). The performance of his worship comprises recitation of Jivasūkta<sup>6</sup> and other prayers and offering of modakas (sweetmeat) and naivedya. Gifts should be given to Brāhmaṇas<sup>7</sup>. Gaurī, too, blessed him that he should be worshipped in this manner.<sup>8</sup> He blessed his devotees with victory in the battlefield.<sup>9</sup>

### KĀRTTIKEYA WORSHIP

The worship of Kārttikeya is exhibited by his representation on ancient Indian coins. He figures on the coins of Huviṣka under the names of Skando (Skanda), Maāseno (Mahāsena), Komāro (Kumāra) and Bizāgo (Viśākha).<sup>10</sup> He was the national deity of the war-like tribe named Yaudheyas whose coins contain the standing image of Śakti-dhara Ṣaḍānana.<sup>11</sup> On the coins of Kumāragupta I (Peacock-Type) we find Kārttikeya, riding on his peacock Paravāṇī, holding spear in left hand over shoulder (Śakti-dhara).<sup>12</sup> Bilsad Stone Inscription of

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1. Śiva II. IV. 16. 34.
  2. Ibid., II. iv. 17. 49-59.
  3. Ibid., II. iv. 18. 16-26.
  4. Ibid., II. iv. 18. 42
  5. Ibid., II. iv. 18. 50-62.
  6. Sk., VI. 214. 53.
  7. Ibid., VI. 214. 55-59.
  8. Ibid., VI. 214. 61-64.
  9. Ibid., VI. 214. 70(ii)
  10. DHI., pp. 144-146; PTR., p. 148-149.
  11. CCAI. pp. CXLix-CL, 270, 272, 273-Plate xxxix, figures 21-22.  
DHI. pp. 142-143, PTR., p. 149-150.
  12. CCGD., pp. 84, 86; Plate xv, figures 5-14.



Kumāragupta I refers to a temple of the god Kārttikeya under the name of Svāmī-Mahāsena (Svāmī Mahāsenasyayatane)<sup>1</sup>.

Thus it is clear, as observes Prof. J. N. Banerjea, that worship of Kārttikeya was known from a very early time, specially in some parts of Northern India. The worshippers of god, however, did not presumably form a sect, for they were never given a separate status like the exclusive devotees of the five Paurāṇic deities, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Sūrya and Gaṇapati. Textual and archaeological data are not wanting to prove that in centuries immediately preceding the Christian era and one or two succeeding it, he was worshipped under different names or aspects, such as Skanda, Viśakha, Kumāra, Mahāsena, Brahmanyadeva, etc".<sup>2</sup>

Chapters XIV—XXXV of Kumārikakhaṇḍa (Sk., I. ii) deal with the Skanda-carita<sup>3</sup> or the Kumāra-carita<sup>4</sup> glorifying the war-god Kumāra (Kārttikeya) who is associated here with Western India. He killed the demon Tāraka near Mahisāgara-Saṅgama. The Śiva Purāṇa, which associates itself with the Skanda Purāṇa, also deals with the Kumāra-Carita.<sup>5</sup> The story of Kārttikeya's birth is also mentioned in the chapter thirtyfour of Avantikṣetra Māhātmya of Avanti Khaṇḍa (V. i.) with slight variance. This story of the achievements of Kārttikeya as the champion of gods threatened by demons reflects upon the importance of the deity in the religious and political life of the country during the age under review.

His various names<sup>6</sup> and forms also maintain the glory of the Hindu war-deity, who is stated to be glorified in the scriptures specially in the Vedas, Āgamas, Purāṇas, Upaniṣads and in the twofold Mimāṃsā.<sup>7</sup> His glory is sung in the prayer offered to him.<sup>8</sup> Agastya found the

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1. CII, vol. III, p. 44, line 8.

2. PTR., p. 147.

3. Sk., I. ii. 36. 60.

4. Ibid., I. ii. 14. 7.

5. cf. Alberuni's India (Sachau), II. p. 140.

6. Sk., V. i. 45. 73-75.

7. Ibid., I. i. 31. 6-7.

8. Ibid., I. i. 31. 81-85.



shrine of Skanda in the Skanḍa-vana near Śrī-Parvata and the great sage offered his prayers to the deity.<sup>1</sup> Thus Bhagavan Skanda himself spoke on the merits of asceticism and penances and quite opposed to marriage he followed the path of Jñāna-yoga.<sup>2</sup>

### MINOR FAITHS AND CULTS

One, Supreme Lord, was divided into five forms (ekoham pañcadha jāto), viz., Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Devī and Gaṇeśa.<sup>3</sup> This division led to the foundation of five religious sects viz., Saura, Gaṇeśa, Śākta, Śaiva, and Vaiṣṇava.<sup>4</sup> There were other gods<sup>5</sup> who were worshipped by the people. Skanda refers to Gramadevatās,<sup>6</sup> who are worshipped even today.

Ascetics of different schools of thought and worship viz., Nir-grantha (jains), Pakhaṇḍas, Hetuvādaparā (Logicians), Kṣapaṇakas, Kaulas, Bhīṇḍakas, and Naiṣkṛtikas etc. are also mentioned in our text.<sup>7</sup>

Different religious rites were also performed by the people. Satya<sup>8</sup> (truth), Dāna-dharma<sup>9</sup> (charity) with special significance to Bhūmidāna,<sup>10</sup> Vidyadāna,<sup>11</sup> Annadāna,<sup>12</sup> Godāna,<sup>13</sup> Svarṇadāna<sup>14</sup> etc., Japa,<sup>15</sup> Tapa,<sup>16</sup>

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1. Sk., IV. i. 25. 9-18.
  2. Ibid., VI. 264. 22-35.
  3. Ibid., II. iv. 3. 16.
  4. Ibid., II. iv. 3. 17.
  5. Ibid., VI. 146. 2-8.
  6. Ibid., II. iv. 35. 32.
  7. Ibid., VII. i. 119. 49-52.
  8. Ibid., V. iii. 56. 98-100; V. iii. 96. 66.
  9. Ibid., V. iii. 56. 118-125.
  10. Ibid., V. iii. 60. 77-78.
  11. Ibid., V. iii. 68. 9.
  12. Ibid., V. iii. 68. 8; V. iii. 85. 74-75; V. iii. 90. 93.
  13. Ibid., V. iii. 83. 103-110; V. iii. 111. 116.
  14. Ibid., V. iii. 195. 10.
  15. Ibid., V. iii. 77. 2-5.
  16. Ibid., IV. ii. 51. 33.



and Devayātrā,<sup>1</sup> are highly glorified. Ahimsā (Ahimsā paramo dharmah)<sup>2</sup> and Jivadayā (dharmo jivadayā),<sup>3</sup> the two fundamental bases of Jainism and Buddhism are eulogised. Skanda upholds the Buddhist philosophy of Samyak-jñāna (samyak jñānena vai muktiḥ).<sup>4</sup> It was also the doctrine of Vedānta advocated by Śaṅkara.

### PĀṢAṆDAVĀDA OR PĀKHAṆDA DHARMA

**Pāṣaṇḍas :** Like the other works of the class Skanda also deprecates Pāṣaṇḍas<sup>5</sup> or Pakhaṇḍas<sup>6</sup> called wicked (durjanah) and sinful persons (papaśīlā), as well as harsh and furious towards the Brāhmaṇas (vipraṁ dṛṣṭvā coddhataḥ unmādaś ca); hence they were to be destroyed and deserted by the pious people (vadhyaś tyajyaḥ sadbhīr). These observations represent the outbursts of Dakṣa aimed at Śiva, when the latter did not offer his salutations to the former.<sup>7</sup> A hot exchange of words followed between Nandī and Dakṣa. The latter vehemently denounced the followers of Rudra, who are styled Vedabāhyah (outside the pale of the Vedas i. e., opposed to the Vedas), 'śapta hi Vedamārgaiś ca' (cursed by the followers of Vedemārga) and 'tyaktā maharṣibhiḥ' (deserted and discarded by the sages). Such were Kapalins and Kālamukhas addicted to drinking (pānarataḥ), devoid of good conduct (śiṣṭacāra-bahiṣkṛtāḥ) and connected with Pāṣaṇḍavāda (pāṣaṇḍavada-samyuktāḥ).<sup>8</sup> Thus even the Śaivas were denounced by Dakṣa.<sup>9</sup> But the Lord Śiva intervened and asked them to desist from such undesirable activities. He asked his own followers :

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1. Sk., V. iii. 84. 29.
  2. Ibid., IV. ii. 58. 97.
  3. Ibid., IV. ii. 58. 95.
  4. Ibid., IV. i. 37. 107-108.
  5. Ibid., III. ii. 38. 46; cf. Agni P., XVI. 3-4; DPI., vol. II, pp. 324-325; PRHRC, pp. 65, 67, 68 88, 89.
  6. Ibid., I. i. 1. 24.
  7. Ibid., I. i. 1. 23.  
Ibid., II. vii. 8. 23-32.
  8. Ibid., I. i. 1. 32-33.
  9. Ibid., I. i. 1. 34-35(i); cf. Kūrma P., I, Chapter XV, PRHRC., pp. 225-226.



prapañca-racanā<sup>6</sup> hitvā buddho bhava mahāmate,  
tattvajñānena nirvartya svasthaḥ krodhādi varjitah,<sup>1</sup>

“Get rid of illusion and be enlightened; devoid of anger, be at ease and be happy by taking recourse to true knowledge”.

Thus śiva preached the principle of ‘viveka’.<sup>2</sup>

While discussing the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Padma-p., Dr. Hazra observes that “In this Chapter (CCLXIII) the Pāṣaṇḍins, including especially the Śiva-worshippers, have been described and the Māyā-vāda (of Śaṁkarācārya) has been denounced as Pracchanna Bauddha (i. e. Buddhist in disguise)”.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the Pāṣaṇḍas hostile to the Vedas (pāṣaṇḍāḥ... Vedabāhyaḥ)<sup>4</sup> were denounced by the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>5</sup> Even the Brāhmaṇas with the advent of Kali at Puṣkara-kṣetra are mentioned to have become Pākhaṇḍins.<sup>6</sup> “From a study of ancient Indian history we learn that during the few centuries from the time of Aśoka Maurya’s reign, there was a great spread of Buddhism in and outside India. The Viṣṇu-dharma amply testifies to the spread of this and other heretical faiths, the followers of which it calls ‘Pāṣaṇḍins (or Pāṣaṇḍas) and defines thus :

“Those, who fare wilfully by transgressing, with puzzling argumentation, the duties (dharma) arising from the distinction of castes and orders of life (and) declared by Śruti and Smṛti, and who, being infatuated, set themselves to unlawful work and are maddened by (their) skill in reasoning, are Pāṣaṇḍins; the worst of men, having reproachable conduct and deserving residence in hell... .. These Pāṣaṇḍins encouraged indiscipline in society by decrying Śruti and Smṛti and encouraging the violation of their prescriptions as regards the rites and duties of

1. Sk., I. i. 1. 43.

2. Ibid., I. i. 1. 44.

3. PRHRC., p. 126; Padma P., VI. 263. 70.

4. Sk., III. ii. 38. 46(iii)-47(i).

5. Ibid., I. i. 5. 101; I. i. 32. 51.

6. Ibid., II. vii. 22. 34.



the different castes and orders of life, and the performance of unlawful acts".<sup>1</sup> Skanda also deprecates them as being hostile to Varṇāśrama.<sup>2</sup> Their discourse (pāṣaṇḍādik sambhaṣaṁ) was shunned.<sup>3</sup> Nāstikas (heretics) have been highly condemned.<sup>4</sup>

The way of life and thought adopted by the Pāṣaṇḍas is called Pāṣaṇḍavāda,<sup>5</sup> Mithyāvāda<sup>6</sup> and 'asadvāda'.<sup>7</sup> Skanda also refers to Pāṣaṇḍa-śāstra.<sup>8</sup> The Padma Purāṇa commenting on Pāṣaṇḍas refers to Bauddha-śāstra as asacchāstram.<sup>9</sup> Jainism and Buddhism were the main heterodox systems associated with the Pakhaṇḍa-mārga.<sup>10</sup> Skanda refers to Bauddhadharma<sup>11</sup> and Jainadharma,<sup>12</sup> the latter gained prominence in the court of Āma, the king of Kānyakubja and Kumārapāla. Kumārapāla is stated to be the son-in-law of Āma. But Kumārapāla, the zealous champion of Jainism seems to be the great Calukyan ruler of Gujarat and there is some confusion in the mind of the Purāṇakāra who associates him with the ruler of Kānyakubja.

**Jainism :** There is also reference to 'naked' (nagna) ascetics<sup>13</sup> and a typical mendicant (kṣapaṇako'dbhutaḥ) described as 'muṇḍi nagno mayūraṇām picchadhārī mahāvratāḥ',<sup>14</sup> i. e. a naked (mendicant) with shaven head and carrying a bunch of a peacock's feathers.

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1. St. Up., Vol. I, pp. 147-148.
  2. Sk., I. ii. 40. 242(ii).
  3. Ibid., II. ii. 49. 22; Padma P., VI 363. 1(i).
  4. Sk I. ii. 32. 66; I. ii. 33. 26; I. ii. 40. 27(ii), 62;  
I. ii. 45. 48(ii), 50(i), 77(ii), 124, 126; II. i. 26. 16(i), 31;  
II. i. 28. 22; II. iv. 4. 77; II. vii. 22. 34.
  5. Ibid., I. i. 1. 33.
  6. Ibid., I. i. 2. 35.
  7. Ibid., I. i. 5. 101.
  8. Ibid., I. ii. 5. 88.
  9. Padma P., VI. 263. 70; PRHRC., p. 77.
  10. Sk., III. ii. 38. 49.
  11. Ibid., III. ii. 36. 36.
  12. Ibid., III. ii. 36. 43, 45, 54.
  13. Ibid., VII. i. 24. 123(ii).
  14. Ibid., I. ii. 63. 35(ii)-36(i).



Such a mendicant was called 'Māyāmoha' (tato digambaro muṇḍo barhipicchadharo).<sup>1</sup>

Viṣṇu P. describes the story of Māyāmoha explaining the character of Nagnas (nagna-svarūpaṃ).<sup>2</sup> "Maitreya asks Parāśara to explain the word 'nagna.....' Accordingly, Parāśara begins a story, which he says, was narrated to Bhīṣma by Parāśara's grand-father Vasiṣṭha. This story says that in ancient times the gods, being defeated by demons (Asuras) in a war which was continued for a divine year, went to the northern side of the ocean of milk and eulogised Viṣṇu who, consequently, produced Māyāmoha from his own body and gave him to the gods. This Māyāmoha, with his body stripped of all garment, his head shaved and a peacock feather in hand went to the banks of the Narmadā where the demons were living, preached to them the religion of the naked (i. e. Jainism) and turned them Arhatas. Next, Māyāmoha put on red clothes, painted his eyes with collyrium and preached Ahimsā (i. e. Buddhism) to the remaining demons. As a result of this preaching the demons soon gave up the Vedic religion and got weakened. Consequently, they were attacked by the gods, defeated and massacred.<sup>3</sup> The Brāhmaṇas, and men of the other castes who turn their faces away from their proper duties, become heretics and are called Nagna.<sup>4</sup>

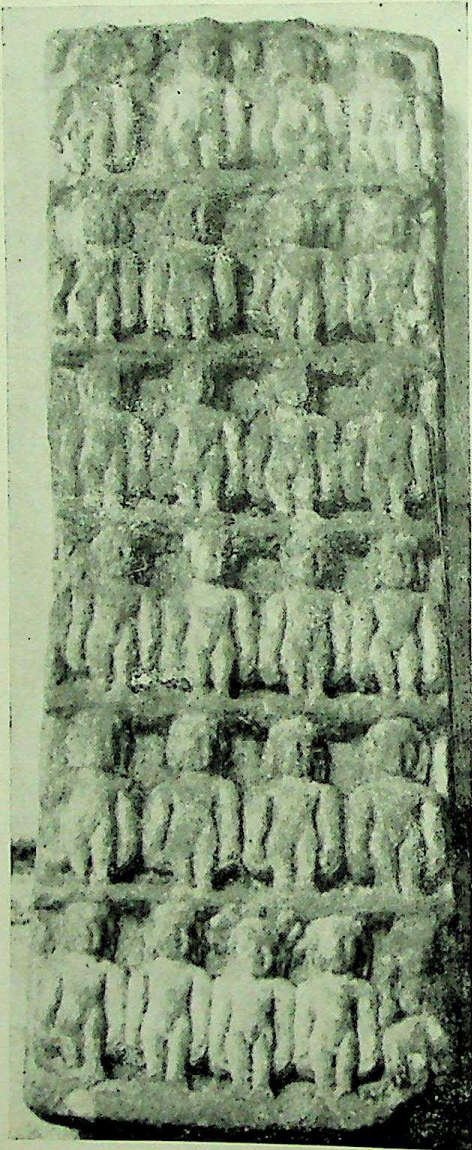
Nudity clearly indicates them to be the Jains associated with the Arhatas, who preached the doctrine of non-violence (ahimsā parmo dharmah).<sup>5</sup> Such 'nagna-kṣapaṇakas' were to be seen in the Gupta kṣetra, not far from Prabhāsa, Śī-parvata, and Śūrpāraka.<sup>6</sup> Prof. Wilson observes : "The situation chosen for the first appearance of the heresy agrees well enough with the great prevalence of the Jain faith in the west of India in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (As. Res. XVI, 318), or perhaps a century earlier....."<sup>7</sup>

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1. Viṣṇu P., III. 18. 2.
  2. Ibid., III. 17. 4.
  3. PRHRC., p. 24.
  4. Viṣṇu P., III. 18. 47.
  5. Sk., I. ii. 63. 37(i).
  6. Ibid., I. ii. 63 59-63.
  7. Wilson VP., p. 270, Footnote 1.









Tirthaṅkaras



Like Viṣṇu-Purāṇa,<sup>1</sup> Skanda also mentions such 'nagna-kṣapaṇakas' putting on garments of red colour, carrying vessels and staffs in their hands<sup>2</sup> and they were also associated with 'arhanta'.<sup>3</sup> The religion preached by Māyāmoha was called Ārhata dharma.<sup>4</sup> All the Jain Tīrthāṅkaras (Pl. II) are said to be nude and 'arhataś'—the Venerables.

**Ṛṣabhadeva**—According to the Jains Ṛṣabhadeva, a descendant of Manu Svayambhuva born in the lineage of Priyavrata was the first among the twentyfour Tīrthāṅkaras. Purāṇas hold that after abdicating the kingdom he retired to Pulahāśrama, where he practised penances as a 'nagna'.<sup>5</sup> Skanda refers to Ṛṣabhamuni as a celebrated yogeśvara,<sup>6</sup> whose name is associated with delusive paths of the Pāśaṇḍas.<sup>7</sup> Ṛṣabha is also mentioned as an incarnation of Viṣṇu who founded Paramhamsa-dharma.<sup>8</sup> Prof. J. N. Banerjea holds that 'Buddha and Ṛṣabha seem to have found their place in some lists of the Avatāras.....'<sup>9</sup>

While commenting on the ascetic life of Ṛṣabha, Prof. Wilson observes : "The Bhāgavata..... enters much more into detail on the subject of Ṛṣabha's devotion, and particularizes circumstances not found in any other Purāṇa. The most interesting of these are the scene of Ṛṣabha's wanderings, which is said to be Koṅka, (Koṅkaṇa) Veṅkaṭa, Kuṭaka, (Cut tack) and southern Kaṇṭaka, or the western part of the Peninsula; and the adoption of the Jain belief by the people of those countries. Thus it is said, that "A king of the Kaṅkas, Veṅkaṭas and Kuṭakas, named Arhata, having heard the tradition of Ṛṣabha's practices (or his wandering about naked, and desisting from religious rites).....and will foolishly enter upon an unrighteous and heretical path. Misled by him....., wicked men will, in great numbers,

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1. Viṣṇu P., III. 18. 15 (i).
  2. Sk., III. ii. 38. 24-25.
  3. Ibid., III. ii. 38. 28 (i).
  4. Viṣṇu P., III. 18. 12.
  5. Ibid., II. i. 31; Bhāgavata, V. 5. 28.
  6. Sk., I. ii. 40. 213 (ii).
  7. Ibid., I. ii. 39. 67.
  8. Ibid., II. ix. 18. 26.
  9. PTR., p. 58.



desert the institutes and purifications of their own ritual; will observe vows injurious and disrespectful to the gods ..... and will revile the world, the deity, sacrifices, Brāhmaṇas, and the Vedas'. It is also said, that Sumati, the son of Bharata, will be irreligiously worshipped by some infidels, a divinity. Besides the import of the term Arhat, or Jain, Ṛṣabha is the name of the first, and Sumati of the fifth Tīrthaṅkara, or Jain saint of the present era..... The allusions to the extension of the Jain faith in the western parts of the Peninsula, may serve to fix the limit of its probable antiquity to the 11th. or 12th century, when the Jains seem to have been flourishing in Guzerat and the Konkan (As. Res. XII. 282)".<sup>1</sup>

As already stated Jainism tried to penetrate into the heart of the country by winning the favour of the royal family of Kanauj. The princess royal, daughter of king Āma, as well as his son-in-law Kumārapāla-Kumbhīpāla) ruling at Dharmāraṇya were converted to Jainism. The Brāhmaṇas, however, vehemently opposed infiltration of the pāṣaṇḍas in the Madhyadeśa.<sup>2</sup> The most important protagonist of Jainism who was responsible for its exaltation at Kanauj and Dharmāraṇya was Indra Sūri.<sup>3</sup>

He succeeded in persuading the great ruler at Kanauj to renounce Vaiṣṇava-dharma and embrace Jainism; his subjects, too, followed their king under the guidance of the Kṣapaṇaka.<sup>4</sup> Kumhīpāla, (or Kumārapāla) son-in-law of Āma, also embraced the teaching of Indrasūri<sup>5</sup> and installed Jain deities in his capital at Dharmāraṇya.<sup>6</sup> Skanda asserts that people of all the varṇas were converted to Jainism (sarve varṇas-tathā bhūta Jaina-dharma-samāśṛitāḥ).<sup>7</sup> The Brāhmaṇas were persecuted at the hands of Kumārapāla. who confiscated the lands granted to them.<sup>8</sup> It led

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1. Wilson VP., p. 133, Footnote 7.

2. Sk., Chaps. XXXVI-XL of III. ii.

3. Ibid., III. ii. 36. 40-41.

4. Ibid., III. ii. 36. 35-36.

5. Ibid., III. ii. 36. 43.

6. Ibid., III. ii. 36. 45.

7. Ibid., III. ii. 36.46.

8. III. ii. 36. 47-54.



to revolt of the Brāhmaṇas, who are stated to have succeeded in getting their due with the assistance of Hanumān.<sup>1</sup> Rāmaḥakti, again, was patronised by the people and their rulers. The whole episode throws important light on the rivalry between Brāhmaṇism (Vaiṣṇavism) and Jainism.

### ASCETICISM

The institution of Sannyāsa arose out of this state of mind that happiness lies in vairāgya; for all worldly objects, possessions like wealth and relations have transitory existence. They are all helpless at the time of death. It led to the life of renunciation—renunciation of all comforts and worldly possession and adoption of the life of an ascetic. Yājñavalkya asserted that 'amṛtattva' cannot be realised by means of wealth.<sup>2</sup> The Buddha and Mahāvīra became the great leaders of Buddhism and Jainism. Thus the two currents of ascetic movement—Brahmaṇa and Śramaṇa—began to preach the doctrine of renunciation based on asceticism.

Scholars like Farquhar and others have thrown much light on the institution of Saṁnyāsa,<sup>3</sup> the importance of which is also stressed by the study of the Skanda Purāṇa.<sup>4</sup> Skanda refers to different types of ascetics,<sup>5</sup> Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain.

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa refers to four kinds of Vāṇaprasthins (forest-dwellers) and four kinds of saṁnyāsins : Vaikhānasa, Bālakhilya, Audumbara and Phenapā (as forest-dwellers), Kuṭicaka, Bahūdaka, Haṁsa, Niṣkriya or Paramahaṁsa (as saṁnyāsins).<sup>6</sup> Skanda also mentions

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1. Sk., III. ii. 36. 55-63.

2. Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, II. 4. 2.

3. J. N. Farquhar : Outlines of the Religions Literature of India; Har Dutt Sharma : Contribution to the History of Brahmanical Asceticism (Saṁnyāsa).

Banerjea, J. N., PTR., pp. 10-11.

4. St. Sk., Part I, p. 289.

5. Sk., II. ix. 25. 12.

6. Bhāgavata P., III. 12. 43.



these classes of Vāṇaprasthins and saṁnyāsins. The four kinds of forest-dwellers are Phenapās, Audumbaras, Bālahilyas and Vaikhānasas.<sup>1</sup> Their modes of life and thought are mentioned in the Mahābhārata. After living in the forest for 12, 8 or 4 years one should embrace saṁnyāsa, with the growth of intense asceticism.<sup>2</sup>

Skanda refers to four kinds of ascetics (caturddhā yatir vairāgya-bhedataḥ) viz—

- (i) Kuṭīcaka,
- (ii) Bahūdaka,
- (iii) Haṁsa, and
- (iv) Paramahaṁsa.<sup>3</sup>

“According to the Nārada-parivrajaka Upaniṣad, a kuṭīcaka should beg at one particular place; a bahūdaka should beg from different places, like a bee collecting honey from different flowers, but not just what he desires; a haṁsa should beg eight morsels from eight houses; a paramahaṁsa should beg from five houses, using his hands as a bowl...”<sup>4</sup> Dr. Sharma (Har Dutt) observes that “Those, which mention four or five different kinds of ascetics, may be considered as belonging to a later period. The Āśrama and the Bhikṣuka Upaniṣads mention the kuṭīcaka, bahūdaka, haṁsa, and parama-haṁsa..... They have all the appearance of still later works”.<sup>5</sup> The following table<sup>6</sup> throws much light on the nature of the four kinds of yatis mentioned above :

1. Sk., II. ix. 23, 12.

2. Ibid., II. ix. 23. 13.

St. Sk., Part I, pp. 288-289 for discussion on Āśramācāra.]

3. Sk. II. ix. 23. 30.

Agni P., CLXI. 18; Anuśāsana p. 141. 89.

4. HBA., p. 42.

5. Ibid., p. 75.

6. Ibid., p. 76. Appendix.



## FOUR KINDS OF YATIS

No. Kinds of ascetics	Bath	Painting the forehead	Shaving	Food	Cloth- ing	Wor- ship	Mutter- ing of the mantras	Teach- ing	Different kinds of Prāṇavas	Śravaṇa Manana or Nididhyāsana	Remarks
1. Kuṭicaka.	3 times a day.	a vertical line drawn upwards.	Every season.	from one place.	2 śaṭis.	of gods.	allowed to mutter the mantras.	no special prescription.	no special prescription.	Śravaṇa	
2. Bahūdaka.	2 times a day.	three lines.	one in two seasons.	from several places like a bee.	1 śaṭi.	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	Śravaṇa	
3. Haṇsa	once a day.	three vertical lines going upwards.	none	within the pot of hands.	1 piece of cloth or a deer-skin.	men- tal.	allowed to meditate.	-do-	anāra	manana	
4. Parama-hansa.	mental bath	ash painting	none or once in the (ayana.)	Within the pot of hands.	naked or a loin-cloth or a deer-skin.	-do-	-do-	The Mahāvakyas.	-do-	-do-	



“All should try to realise their own self”. They all followed strict physical and spiritual discipline for the attainment of mastery (control) over the body, and the mind for the realisation of Truth, Through the practice of Yoga the knowledge of Self is manifested and it brings calmness and inner joy to an ascetic. They are all ‘sādhakas’—seekers of truth—practising sādhanā—devotional meditation or muttering of the mantras. That is samnyāsa—a stage and state of freedom from worldly desires, worries and anxieties and a state of spiritual discipline and constant meditation. As it is not possible in the midst of worldly life to ignore social environment and obligations, one adopts the life of an ascetic by renouncing all worldly pursuits and pleasures. Asceticism (samnyāsa) is sādhanā in solitude—nivṛttidharma and niḍidhyāsanam.<sup>1</sup> The Mahābhārata describes gr̥hasthadharma (duties of householders) as ‘pravṛttilakṣaṇo dharmah’ i. e.<sup>2</sup> the life of attachment and ‘nivṛttilakṣaṇah dharmah’ i. e. the life of detachment as a means of mokṣa.<sup>3</sup> The epic refers to four kinds of bhikṣus viz., kuṭīcaka, bahūdaka, haṁsa and paramahaṁsa (the most exalted ascetic free from pain and pleasure).<sup>4</sup> While describing ‘munidharma’ (also called ṛṣidharma)<sup>5</sup> the epic further mentions different kinds of munis viz., phenapās,<sup>6</sup> bālakhilyas,<sup>7</sup> cakracaras,<sup>8</sup> and vaikhānasas.<sup>9</sup> An ascetic is aptly called ‘tyāgī’,<sup>10</sup> desiring to realise Mokṣa.<sup>11</sup> They were Vaiṣṇava ascetics.<sup>12</sup>

Skanda also refers to Vaiṣṇava saints wearing kaṣāya robes.<sup>13</sup>

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1. Mbh., Anuśāsana P., CXLI, 80-88.
  2. Ibid., P., CXLI. 76.
  3. Ibid., CXLI. 80.
  4. Ibid., CXLI. 89-90.
  5. Ibid., P., CXLI., 92-94.
  6. Ibid., CXLI. 95-98 (i); p. 5932.
  7. Ibid., CXLI. 98 (ii)—102; p. 5933.
  8. Ibid., CXLI. 103-107; p. 5932 (for Dakṣiṇātya pāṭha).
  9. Ibid., CXLI, pp. 5932-5933.
  10. Sk., II. ix. 23. 26 (i), 29 (i).
  11. Ibid., II. ix. 23. 28 (i).
  12. Ibid., II. ix. 23. 32-33.
  13. Ibid., II. ix. 23. 31-32.



Buddhist ascetics also wear kaṣāya robes.<sup>1</sup> The Buddha is represented in the ascetic form (kṛśāṅgaṁ jaṭilāṁ saumyaṁ).<sup>2</sup> There are references to Jain ascetics.<sup>3</sup> The divine ascetics (Nara and Nārāyaṇa) performed asceticism on the sacred hill at Badarī.<sup>4</sup> Haṁsa, Dattatreya and Kapila, the incarnations of Viṣṇu were great ascetics. Ṛṣabha is styled Paramahaṁsa.<sup>5</sup> There are evidences to show that asceticism was held high in respect.

### MATSYENDRANĀTHA

Skanda refers to the birth of Matsyendranātha, the great yogin<sup>6</sup> Mahāmatsya, a great fish, shining with divine lustre emerged from Kṣīrasāgara. Śiva asked him as to who he was. Was he a god, Yakṣa, or a human being? He told himself to be born of a fish, and he was devoted to asceticism and renunciation opposed to life of householder and attachment.<sup>7</sup> His distressed mother threw him away in the sea, where he was swallowed by a fish. Śiva's speech stimulated the yogic knowledge in him by means of which he realised the vision of the former.<sup>8</sup> Śiva, recognised him to be a 'vipra' (Vedic Brāhmaṇa), who was held dear to the former like a son.<sup>9</sup> He had his fair form, lustrous like moon with the smell of fish (matsya-gandhen saṁyutaḥ).<sup>10</sup> This great yogin was named Matsyendra Natha by Śiva, as he was born of a fish.<sup>11</sup> Such is the account of the yogin named Matsyendra Natha.<sup>12</sup> Matsyendranātha is the celebrated Mahāyogin "the patron saint of the valley of Nepal". He is associated with the Natha sect and system of philosophy.

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1. Sk., II. ix. 23. 31-32.
  2. Ibid., VII. ii. 16. 41.
  3. Ibid., VII. i. 19. 48.
  4. Ibid., II. ix 19. 1-2.
  5. St. Sk., Part I, p. 18.
  6. Sk., VI. 263. 42.
  7. Ibid., VI. 263. 43-48.
  8. Ibid., VI. 263. 50.
  9. Ibid., VI. 263. 52.
  10. Ibid., VI, 263. 54.
  11. Ibid., VI. 263. 56.
  12. Ibid., VI. 263. 61.



## MAHĀMUNI RĀMĀNUJA

Rāmānuja, a Brahmaṇa-devotee of Viṣṇu and a reputed yogin performed penances near the bank of the river Ākāśagaṅgā.<sup>1</sup> The pious Vaiṣṇava-ascetic, devoted to Vaikhānasa-mata, meditated upon Viṣṇu muttering the 'aṣṭākṣara-mantra' (Śrī Vāsudevāya namaḥ). Unnerved by the rigours of heat, cold and rains he set his heart to the Janārdana depending on water and air for his sustenance.<sup>2</sup> Bhaktavatsala Bhagavan was pleased to appear before him in the Caturbhuja-form holding Śaṅkha, Cakra, and Gadā (fourth should have been in the varada-mudrā). He was accompanied by his attendants.<sup>3</sup> Deva Veṅkaṭeśa Śrīnivāsa blessed Mahāmuni Rāmānuja with his divine grace and glory. Rāmānuja (Muni) began to sing songs in the prayer of the Lord of Veṅkaṭādri Śrīnivāsa, the Jagadguru.<sup>4</sup> Pleased by the 'stotra' of Mahatmā Rāmanuja, Śrīnivāsa embraced him and asked him to demand the boon. But the great devotee declined saying that he was fully satisfied with the divine vision of his gracious Lord-the crest jewel of Veṅkaṭādri. He only wanted his immovable adherence to the feet of Veṅkaṭeśa which was commended and conformed by the Lord, who bestowed upon him the blissful, stead-fast, devotion.<sup>5</sup> Lord asked him to set up his abode on the river Viyadgaṅgā, where the sacred bath relieves the man from the fear of re-birth. Hence the sacred river was eulogised by all the Bhāgavatas,<sup>6</sup> who followed the life of renunciation, meditation, service, sacrifice, love, friendliness, equality and good to all. Bhāgavatas were also devoted to 'satkathā,' 'Purāṇa-śravaṇa,' and pilgrimage.<sup>7</sup> Lord concluded his discourse on the Bhāgavata-lakṣaṇas<sup>8</sup> with the observations that all the characteristic features of a Bhāgavata,

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1. Sk., II. i. 21. 2.
  2. Ibid., II. i. 21. 3-6.
  3. Ibid., II. i. 21. 7-11.
  4. Ibid., II. i. 21. 15-21.
  5. Ibid., II. i. 21. 22-32.
  6. Ibid., II. i. 21. 33-36.
  7. Ibid., II. i. 21. 40-62.
  8. See above-Bhāgavata-lakṣaṇas and karmas are mentioned in the section on Vaiṣṇavism (Bhāgavatas).



were to be found in the person of Mahāmāti Rāmānuja, who was dear to Lord,<sup>1</sup>

Thus it is evident that Mahāmāti, Mahāmuni, great Yogin and Viṣṇu-bhakta, named Rāmānuja, was undoubtedly the celebrated Vaiṣṇava ācārya of the same name.<sup>2</sup> "Born at Śrīperumbudur, near Madras, in the first quarter of the eleventh century, he had his early philosophical training under Yādavaprakāśa of Kāñcīpuram, who belonged to the school of Śāṅkara".<sup>3</sup>

### CULT OF DEHATYĀGA

"Suicide as a means of escape from the present bodily or mental ills or for the acquisition of religious merit in the next world has been an established institution, in our country from early times".<sup>4</sup> Dr. Ghoshal observes that "The smṛtis and the Purāṇas from early times exhibit a twofold attitude towards suicide is permissible for old or diseased persons in various forms such as drowning or plunging into fire or falling from a precipice, and that it is commendable when it is performed at a holy place (such as by throwing one-self into the river from the fig-tree at Prayāga<sup>5</sup>..... On a consideration of Vedic, epic and Purāṇic texts Pt. Kshetresha Chandra Chattopadhyaya has shown that Vedic orthodoxy looked upon suicide with abhorrence, which was considered meritorious by non-Vedic ascetics. Later on Vedic orthodoxy compromised with the common culture of the land and approved of the 'religious suicide at Prayāga'.<sup>6</sup>

1. Sk., II. i. 21. 63.

2. Bhaktamāla of Nābhādāsa, Chappaya 30 :

"Rāmānuja timira haraṇa udaya bhānu....."

Ibid., p. 265 (Rūpakalā Edn.). He was born in the Brāhmaṇa family of Hārīta Gotra and his father was a celebrated yājñic Brāhmaṇa named Keśava.

3. H. S. I., p. 411.

4. Ghoshal, U. N., Studies in Indian History & Culture, p. 479.

5. Ibid., p. 479, pp. 479-486. Dr. Ghoshal discusses further the "Rite of Head-offering to the Deity".

6. Pusalkar, A. D., Epics and Purāṇas, p. 156.

K. C. Chattopadhyaya, J. U. P.H. S., Vol. X, pp. 65-79.



According to the Skanḍa Purāṇa, Dehātyāga was also a means of realising salvation (ādehaṇātanaḍ devi tepi yāsyanti sadgatiṁ).<sup>1</sup> It was as effective in the attainment of Mokṣa, as was the Brahmavidyā or Brahmajñāna<sup>2</sup> in that respect.

King Citrasena performed severe penances on the hill-top at Bhṛgutūṅga and meditating on the divine glory of the Trimūrti and other gods he was to jump from the hill, when Rudra-Keśava appeared before him.<sup>3</sup> He asked him not to end his life.<sup>4</sup> But king requested him not to create obstacles in his path. He had nothing to demand or to desire. He did not aspire for the kingdom, treasure, sons, brothers, wife, elephants and horses etc. He requested Śiva to leave him alone; for heaven was attained by the gracious presence of Śiva. He did not aspire for heaven.<sup>5</sup> It shows that the rite of Prāṇatyāga was a great tapa.<sup>6</sup> With intensity of devotion to gods, one performed the rite of Prāṇatyāga in the water, or on the ground.<sup>7</sup>

**Vidhi or Vidhāna of Prāṇatyāga :** Prāṇatyāga, a religious rite, was thus believed to be an act of great merit.<sup>8</sup> It is evinced by the

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1. Sk., V. iii. 4. 37; V. iii. 196. 5; V. iii. 217. 3.
  2. Ibid., VII. iv. 31. 37.
  3. Ibid., V. iii. 55. 1-3.
  4. Ibid., V. iii. 55. 4.
  5. Ibid., V. iii. 55. 6-8.
  6. Ibid., II. i. 17. 19.
  7. Ibid., V. iii. 184. 25,
  8. H. M. H. I., Vol. II, p. 196; Al Idrisi also refers to it (see above- 'forty-two sects'). History knows it well that Nāgabhaṭa II of the Pratihāra dynasty ended his life by immersion in the holy waters of the Gaṅgā. Similarly Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, Amoghavarṣa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor, and Candell emperor, Dhaṅgadeva, also gave up their lives in accordance with this mode of religious practice (A. I. K., p. 29). It shows the popularity of the faith in the rite of Anaśana or Prāṇatyāga in the age of the Skanda Purāṇa according to which king Āma of Kanauj has been identified with Nāgabhaṭa II (St. Sk., I, pp. 188-189).



description of its procedure (*vidhiḥ patāle uddiṣṭaḥ*),<sup>1</sup> which was to be accomplished before one gave up his life.<sup>2</sup> It comprised the following rites :

(i) *kṛcchatraya*; and

(ii) *lakṣa-japa*, simple diet of 'śāka' and 'yāvaka'; performance of three ablutions, Śiva-worship, performance of 'homa'; again a *lakṣa-japa* and worship of Śiva.

While performing these rites with his intense devotion, one sees the Lord in dream during the night. Then he should throw himself. One should follow this '*vidhāna*,' which brings to him bliss and beatitude.<sup>3</sup>

The rite of *Prāṇatyāga* was also known as *Anaśana*,<sup>4</sup> *Agnipraveśa*,<sup>5</sup> and *Jalapraveśa*,<sup>6</sup> all of which lead to *Prāṇasamkṣayaṁ*<sup>7</sup> or *Prāṇa-mokṣaṇaṁ* and it was the realisation of *Anirvarttikagatiḥ*.<sup>8</sup> The *Mahābhārata* also commends it.<sup>9</sup>

### TREE WORSHIP

Trees are also objects of worship<sup>10</sup>—an ancient tradition of hoary antiquity—rooted in the Harappa culture. While dealing with image-worship Skanda tells us that in the absence of images trees of *Aśvattha* and *Vaṭa* (banyan tree) should be worshipped; the former represents *Viṣṇu*, while the latter represents *Śiva*.<sup>11</sup> *Bodhidruma*<sup>12</sup> and *caitya-taru*<sup>13</sup>

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1. Sk., V. iii. 28. 121.
  2. Ibid., V. iii. 28. 122.
  3. Ibid., V. iii. 28. 123-126.
  4. Ibid., V. iii. 103. 200-201; V. iii. 153. 20.
  5. Ibid., V. iii. 156. 31.
  6. Ibid., V. iii. 180. 76.
  7. Ibid., V. iii. 161. 2.
  8. Ibid., V. iii. 216. 3.
  9. Mbh., *Anuśāsana Parva* (Gītā Press), Pt. IV, p. 214.
  10. Sk., V. iii. 26. 130.
  11. Ibid., II. iv. 3. 38.
  12. Ibid., II. iv. 3. 47 (i).
  13. Ibid., I. ii. 41. 127; DHI, pp. 48, 205.



are famous for their sanctity<sup>1</sup> as we know from the literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources. 'Tulasi' is also deified even today. Thus tree worship<sup>2</sup> has been very popular in the country. Skanda praises different plants and trees associated with different gods and goddesses etc.<sup>3</sup>

Name of the deity or cult	Name of the tree
Brahma	baṭa
Savitri	tila
Mahendra (Indra)	yava
Prajāpati	cūta vṛkṣa
Gandharvas	malaya (candana) vṛkṣa
Gaṇanāyaka	aguru
Samudra	vetasa vṛkṣa
Yakṣa	punnāga
Nāgas	nāga-vṛkṣa
Siddhas	kaṅkolaka
Guhyakāḥ	panasa
Kinnaras	marica
Kandarpa	yaṣṭimadhu
Vanhi (Fire)	raktāñjana
Yama	vibhītaka
Naiṣṭadhīpa	bakula
Varuṇa	kharjurī vṛkṣa
Maruta	pūga vṛkṣa
Dhanada	akṣoṭaka
Rudras	badarī
Saptarṣis	mahātala
Amaras (gods)	bakula
Megha	jambū

1. Sk., II. iv. 3, 49.

2. Ibid., VI. 247. 21-37.

3. Ibid., VI. 252. 10.



Vasus	priyala
Āditya	japavṛkṣa
Āśvins	madana
Viśvedevas	madhūka
Pīṣitaśanas (demons)	guggula
Sūrya (sun)	arka
Soma (moon)	tripatraka
Maṅgala (Bhūmiputra)	khadira
Budha	apāmarga
Guru	aśvattha
Śukra	udumbara
Śanaiścara	śamī
Rahu	dūrvā
Ketu	darbha. <sup>1</sup>

Chapters 248 and 249 of the Nāgara Khaṇḍa respectively deal with the glorification of Palāśa and Tulasī. List of trees associated with the different gods, goddesses, sages, demons as well as with Nava-grahas, shows that many minor cults, like worship of the Yakṣas and the Nāgas, were also prevalent in the society. The list also refers to the Vedic deities viz., Mahendra (Indra), Vanhi (Fire), Varuṇa and Rudra, etc. Most of these deities represent 'Guardians of the Quarters' (Dikpālas).

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1. Sk., VI. 252. 10-41,



## CHAPTER IV

## PHILOSOPHY

**Purāṇic Philosophy :** The Purāṇas are also valuable source of Hindu Philosophy. The great savant, Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, focussed his intellectual light upon the philosophy of the Bhāgavata, Viṣṇu, Kūrma and Śiva Purāṇas etc.<sup>1</sup> But the Purāṇic scholars did not care to study the philosophical principles discussed in the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas, unlike the philosophical texts, explain the difficult philosophical principles by means of stories based on dṛṣṭānta. Dr. V. S. Agrawal could not keep himself aloof from the philosophical statements found in the Matsya, Mākaṇḍeya and Vāmana.

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which opens with the Vedānta of the Brahma Sūtra (janmādyasya yato)<sup>2</sup> refers to teachers of Vedānta viz., Pṛthivī, Vāyu, Ākāśa, Āpaḥ, Agni, Candramā, Ravi, Kapota, Ajagara, Sindhu, Pataṅga Madhukṛd, Gaja, Madhuhā, Hariṇa, Mīna, Piṅgalā (a courtesan), Kuraro, Arbhaka, Kumārī, Śarakṛta, Sarpa, Urṇanābhi etc.<sup>3</sup> Skanda also mentions Sarpa and Madhupa as teachers who teach the philosophy of detachment by their life. Skanda Purāṇa, the vast oceanic text, needs a separate volume for the discussion of Bhāgavata Vedānta.

## PHILOSOPHY

Philosophy is the pursuit of wisdom, or knowledge; the study of ultimate realities. Indian Philosophy is the way of life, concerned with the realisation of highest values. There are different ways and means to attain the highest goal of life, the mokṣa. Skanda refers to Dharma-darśana confused by different ways of logic.<sup>4</sup> Skanda asserts that to know Ātman is, therefore, to know everything. Ānvikṣakī,<sup>5</sup> Brahma-

1. HIP., Vol. III. Chap. xxiii; vol. IV. chap. xxiv; vol. V. chap. xxxii.
2. Bhagavata, I. i. 1, Recently its philosophy (Philosophy of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa) has been published.
3. Ibid., XI. 7. 7, 32-35 ff.
4. Sk., I. ii. 5. 64-65.
5. Ibid., II. ix. 18. 25.



vidyā<sup>1</sup> or Ādhyātma-śāstra<sup>2</sup> are the general terms used for philosophy. Tatvajñāna<sup>3</sup> and Brahmajñāna<sup>4</sup> also convey the same sense. This prescribes the way for the realisation of (Ātman Ātmāvalokanam).<sup>5</sup> The jñāna-sampat has, therefore, a great appeal to the people in as much as it brings an end to the worldly sufferings of man. The Skanda Purāṇa relates the story of a Brāhmaṇa, son of a rich Nāgara Brāhmaṇa. He was himself a very rich person who renounced the wealth which was a permanent source of sufferings. Thinking, day and night, as how to end the sorrow, he could not find any way of escape.<sup>6</sup> But the next day he found an osprey, flying in the sky with meat in its mouth. It was followed by other birds of prey. Now it was a trouble. It could save itself only by throwing away the meat.<sup>7</sup> The rich Brāhmaṇa also realised that wealth, which brings ignorance and illusion, was the cause of suffering; hence **mokṣārthī** should renounce the **arthānārtha**.<sup>8</sup> From the life of a serpent he realised that home, a source of all the troubles, was not a necessity.<sup>9</sup> Home appeared to him as an obstacle in the realisation of mokṣa.<sup>10</sup> He knew that renunciation leads to the attainment of bliss.<sup>11</sup> Madhupa by its function of collecting honey also taught him the principle of detachment.<sup>12</sup> He took to vairāgya.<sup>13</sup> But he sums up his experiences by saying that "neither the Vedāntic texts nor the teachings of the enlightened Yogins brought true knowledge to him. He could not realise it by samādhi, āsana, pramāṇa, adhyatmapaṭhana or by other similar methods"<sup>14</sup> This story

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1. Sk., I. i. 10. 26.
  2. Ibid., VII. iii. 22. 78.
  3. Ibid., II. iv. 26. 10.
  4. Ibid., I. i. 1. 1.
  5. Ibid., VI. 185. 55.
  6. Ibid., VI. 185. 6.
  7. Ibid., VI. 185. 10.
  8. Ibid., VI. 185. 14.
  9. Ibid., VI. VI. 185. 24-25.
  10. Ibid., VI. 185. 32.
  11. Ibid., VI. 185. 40.
  12. Ibid., VI. 185. 47-49.
  13. Ibid., VI. 185. 57.
  14. Ibid., VI. 185. 47-57.



fully reveals that even the cfeatures like serpents and 'bhramaras' can help in realisation of true knowledge, self or Ātma-jñāna.<sup>1</sup> One appears manifested into many forms.<sup>2</sup> Ātmā, too, appears to be divided into many, though it is one and it is also seen in different forms while moving around like the revolving earth.<sup>3</sup> Hence it should be realised by audition and perception, particularly by contemplation.<sup>4</sup> So he, who knows the Ātman by the vision of his true-self, is released from the bonds easily.

What are the bonds one desires to break? This is **karama-bandhana**<sup>5</sup>—the bonds of actions. Actions performed by an individual determine his fate. Fruits of actions, he has to suffer or enjoy later. It is like a seed which brings fruit not immediately but after some time. There is generally a motive behind the action which causes sufferings or enjoyments. Motive is the desire which moves with the picture of the object. Hence action, free from motive or desire, is freedom from karma-vipāka. This ultimately leads to freedom from kleśa (sufferings) or the attainment of Mokṣa.'

There are six schools of Hindu philosophy generally known as Shaḍ-darśana. These are :—

Mīmāṃsā-dvaya<sup>8</sup> i. e. the two schools of Mīmāṃsā namely—

(i) **Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā**—It was founded by Jaimini well-versed in all the Vedas and Vedāṅgas.<sup>9</sup> The followers of this school were engaged in performance of the Vedic rites and sacrifices (karma-vāda ratāḥ).<sup>10</sup>

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1. Sk., I. ii. 2. 37.
  2. Ibid., I. i. 31. 70.
  3. Ibid., I. i. 31. 71.
  4. Ibid., I. i. 31. 72.
  5. Ibid., I. i. 31. 73.
  6. Ibid., VII. ii. 43. 10.
  7. Ibid., III. i. 45. 39.
  8. Ibid., I. i. 4. 21.
  9. Ibid., II. 491.
  10. Ibid., I. i. 10. 18.



They were proficient in Yajña-vidyā.<sup>1</sup> This school was also known as Jaiminīya.<sup>2</sup>

(ii) **Uttara-mīmāṃsā** or **Vedānta**<sup>3</sup>—It is attributed to Vyāsa, hence it is also called **Vaiyāsika**.<sup>4</sup>

(iii) **Nyāya**<sup>5</sup>—It is the logical school of Gautama.<sup>6</sup>

(iv) **Vaiśeṣika**<sup>7</sup> or the **atomic school of Kaṇāda**—It is also called **Kaṇāda**.<sup>8</sup>

(v) **Sāṅkhya**<sup>9</sup>—It is the philosophical school of Kapila.<sup>10</sup>

(vi) **Yoga**<sup>11</sup>—It is theistical school of Patañjali.

These systems of philosophy are well-known to our heritage.<sup>12</sup> Besides these principal schools of Hindu philosophy we also find description of the philosophy of Gīta based on Karma-yoga, Jñāna-yoga and Dhyāna-yoga, the three paths for the attainment of mokṣa. Pañchatratika siddhānta is also mentioned along with the systems of Yoga and Sāṅkhya.<sup>13</sup> Śiva-jñāna, essence of all the Vedas,<sup>14</sup> comes out of Śiva-darśana<sup>15</sup> and it is realised by Yoga as well as by renunciation.<sup>16</sup> This is

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1. Sk., II. ii. 17. 3.
  2. Ibid., III. i. 43. 30.
  3. Ibid., II. i. 28. 42.
  4. Ibid., III. i. 43. 30.
  5. Ibid., III. ii. 39. 201.
  6. Ibid., III. i. 43. 30.
  7. Ibid., VII. i. 79. 4.
  8. Ibid., III. i. 43. 30.
  9. Ibid., III. i. 43. 40.
  10. Ibid., II. ix. 18. 24.
  11. Ibid., III. i. 43. 40.
  12. HIP., Vol. I.
  13. Sk., VII. i. 3. 61.
  14. Ibid., I. iii. p. 1. 8.
  15. Ibid., I. iii. p. 1. 17.
  16. Ibid., I. iii. p. 1. 16.



also called the noble Śiva-yōga.<sup>1</sup> Śaiva philosophy of Yoga has its unique importance in the age of the Skanda Purāṇa which witnessed the advent of Śaṅkarācārya.

**Śūnya-upāsana**—Skanda refers to certain ascetics who propitiated Śiva in accordance with the principles of Yoga—a difficult path. They are stated to be engaged in the worship of Śūnyam :

arādhanaṁ tasya kecid yogamārgena kurvate  
duḥkhasādhyaṁ hi tat teṣāṁ nityaṁ śūnyaṁ upasatāṁ.<sup>2</sup>

It refers to worship of niṣkala Śiva—Śiva Formless. However, we are not certain if it has any thing to do with the doctrine of Nihi-ism or Śūnyavāda school of the Buddhists, as we have no further details about it. There are “references to Buddhism found in the Brahma-sūtras.....with regard to the Śūnyavāda.....”.<sup>3</sup> Gauḍapāda, was the teacher of Govinda, the teacher of Śaṅkara,..... Śaṅkara says that he was directly influenced by his (Gauḍapāda’s) great wisdom.....<sup>4</sup> Gauḍapāda..... was possibly himself a Buddhist and considered that the teachings of the Upaniṣads tallied with those of the Buddha. Dr. Dasgupta observes that “Gauḍapāda assimilated all the Buddhist yśūnavāda and Vijñānavāda teachings.....”.<sup>5</sup>

“In the third Chapter (of Gauḍapāda’s Māṇḍūkya kārīka) Gauḍapāda says that truth is like the void (ākāśa).....”.<sup>6</sup> Śaṅkara accepted Gauḍapāda’s conclusions.....”.<sup>7</sup> Prof. Dasgupta observes : “The main difference between Vedānta as expounded by Gauḍapāda and as explained by Śaṅkara consists in this, that Śaṅkara tried as best as he could to dissociate the distinctive Budhist traits found in the exposition of the former and to formulate the philosophy as a direct interpretation

1. Sk., I. iii p. 1. 18.

2. Ibid., I. ii. 33. 26.

Dr. B. N. S. Yadav refers to the Śūnya Purāṇa (S.C.N.I., p. 346).

3. HIP., Vol. I, p. 421.

4. Ibid., p. 423.

5. Ibid., p. 429.

6. Ibid., p. 426.

7. Ibid., p. 435.



of the older Upaniṣad texts..... He was no doubt regarded by some as a hidden Buddhist (*pracchanna Bauddha*).<sup>1</sup> Let us conclude, with a hesitation, that the worship of Śūnya by Yogis is an allusion to such celebrated ascetics as Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara.

### PHILOSOPHY OF LOVE (PREMA-BHAKTI)

Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the absolute Brahma, represents the form of Sadānanda (Sadānanda-Vigrahaḥ) which reflects the material saturation and fulfilment of all the desires (*āptakāmaḥ*) leading to the blissful company of Ātman (*ātmarāmaśca*).<sup>2</sup> Such an exalted company of Sadānanda-ātmarāma Kṛṣṇa can be attained by persons through the intensity of Love which leads to Param Brahma.<sup>3</sup>

It is the philosophy of Love—the Love Divine—associated with the exalted school of Śaṅḍilya, who preached it in the court of Vajranābha.<sup>4</sup> “According to Śaṅḍilya, Bhakti ‘consists in supreme attachment to God, which is not opposed to love of Self.’”<sup>5</sup>

Nārada explains this concept of Bhakti by referring to the devotional love of the Gopīs of Vraja.<sup>6</sup> Skanda also glorifies the Bhāgavata Philosophy by unfolding the mystery of divine Love. It states—

Rādhikā is Ātman; and cows and Gopikā represent desires. Thus Kṛṣṇa’s joyous life associated with the cows, gopas and gopikās of Vraja reveals the personality of Puruṣa (Param) or ultimate Reality.<sup>7</sup>

The two aspects of His personality (*līlā*) styled Vāstavi (real) and Vyavahārikī, are inseparable from each other.<sup>8</sup> Kṛṣṇa, the Supreme

1. HIP., vol. I p. 437.

2. Sk. II. vi. 1. 21.

3. Ibid., II. vi. 1. 20.

4. Ibid., II. vi. 1. 16-17.

5. The Philosophy of Love, p. 56.

Ibid., Bhakti Sūtra of Nārada, 18.

6. Ph. L., p. 60, Sūtra 21.

7. Sk., II. vi. 1. 22-23.

8. Ibid., II. vi. 1. 22-26.



Bliss,<sup>1</sup> is known in his Vastāṣī-līlā by the enlightened sages through the intensity of Love and devotion (prema-Bhakti),<sup>2</sup> based on service and surrender (dāsyā).<sup>3</sup> It is described at length, in the tenth canto of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which leads to the company of Kṛṣṇa :

कृष्णप्राप्तिकरं शश्वत्प्रेमानन्दफलप्रदम् ।  
श्रीमद्भागवतं शास्त्रं कलौ कीरेण भाषितम् ॥<sup>4</sup>

But people do not observe the glory of Premānanda-Kṛṣṇa due to their worldly desires.

यतो हरिविजयः श्रीगुणास्ततः



1. Sk., II. vi. 1. 33.

2 Ibid., II. iii. 4. 16; II. vi. 4. 28.

3. Ibid., II. iii. 4. 16; II. vi. 2. 11.

4. Ibid., II. vi. 4. 48.



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